

Hassan : Kashmir Historiographer

By :
Dr. Manzoor Fazili



Gulshan Publishers
GOW KADAL SRINAGAR
1983

Hassan : Kashmir Historiographer

By :
Dr. Manzoor Fazili



Gulshan Publishers
GOW KADAL SRINAGAR
1983

P R E F A C E

The placement of Hassan in the historiography of Kashmir marks a uniqueness that partially excels him for reasons known to us. Hassan came at a time that ushered in an era of change for the future, resulting in the upsurge of 1931 and later culminating in the dawn of political consciousness by the beginning of 1946 through the slogan of "Quit Kashmir".

Hassan shines as one of the distinctive stars in the milkyway of the historiographers of Kashmir. The leading one among them is Kalhana about whom M. A. Stein says, "The interest which attracts us to Kalhana's work is mainly due to its character as a historial record. Whatever can assist us in estimating correctly its value from this point of view, may claim our special and close attention."¹ According to M.A. Stein there is no record to tell us of the life of the scholar-poet to whom we owe our knowledge of the history of old Kashmir. However, he mentions the name of Canpaka, who was Kalhana's father, whom Kalhana himself mentions in the chronicle as one of the chief officials in the court of King Harsa (A.

1. Stein, M.A., *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, V. I, p. 24.

D. 1089-1101). Thus Kalhana was a minister's son and was born at Paraspura in a Brahmin family. Kalhana's greatness lies not in recording only the facts or events in our history of ancient Kashmir but transmitting to us the value structures that would have otherwise been destroyed. Srivara and Suka followed Kalhana but without attaining his eminence.

The second *Rajtarangini* is composed by Jonaraja, a Kashmiri Brahmin, who died in 1489 A. D. He professed Shiva Philosophy and belonged to the class of haves. He had access in the court of Zainulabidin, who patronized learning, and consequently he committed to writing and teaching. It is known that he wrote four books.²

Kalhana or Jonaraja, Kashmiri by descent, wrote in Sanskrit verse and were succeeded, after the spread of Islam in Kashmir, by historians who wrote in Persian. Amongst them is Khawaja Mohammad Azim Dedamari, a man of repute and eminence. Born at Dedamar in Srinagar, Khawaja Azim Dedamari was succeeded by Mulla Ahmad,³ Mulla Nadri, Qazi Ibrahim, Syed Ali Bin Syed Mohd Magrey, Hassan Beg, Malik Hader Chadura and Abdul Saboor, Birbal Kachroo and some more. It may be mentioned that some histories are available, whose authors are not

2. Y. Teng and Nazki (Editors), *Mashahiri-Kashmir (Hamara Adab)*, Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, 1976-77, p. 448.

3. Hassan considers Mulla Ahmad's history as a source for the compilation of his work.

the basis of observation.⁴ For Part III and IV also he has personally visited all the shrines and burial places and collected material for Kashmiri Saints and Persian poets.

Hassan nowhere claims the merit of originality for the plan and form of his work. Instead he initiates the history with the verses from the Holy book Quran and he refers to various earlier compositions on history of Kashmir Kings which he used. Most of the sources he has consulted have come down to us except Mulla Ahmad's history.

Two years before his death Hassan donated a copy of his history to the Library of the Shrine at Khanaqahi Maulla with his own seal appended on it. The Research Directorate got its two volumes published from the same Manuscript. Later, Moulvi Mohd Ibrahim, a retired Professor of Arabic from a Government College translated the two volumes into Urdu. It is believed in the folklore of village Gamroo, Tehsil Bandipur, that one more copy remained with the family. It is, however, not traceable. I had personally contacted the man who is believed to possess it but was unable to get the manuscript--sure it is that manuscript does not lie with any of the Fazilis.

Wishing to throw light on Hassan, his historical work and poetry, we do not only turn to his work.

4. Professor Hajini Mohiuddin, *Mashahiri Kamraz*, Adabi Marks Kamraz, (Kashmiri), vol. I, p. 30.

E R R A T A

- a. P.12, follows P.10, P.13 follows P.11.
- b. P.11, line 18, read one Vol instead 'the two'.
- c. P.13, line 4, read oldest generation.
- d. P.19, line 7, read Sultanularfin.
- e. P.21, line 3, read food instead ood.
- f. P.42, F.M., read translated by Abdul Kabir Sopori.
- g. P.47, line 14, read Raja Gulab Singh, "After Ranjit Singh, he is the greatest Lord in the Panjab."
Ranjit Singh's death in 1839.....
- h. P.60 line 4, delete the word 'Thus'
- i. P.75, instead of anther read author.
- j. P.97, line 4, delete Vol.III.
- k. P.100, line 12, visited every part.
- l. P.106, line one, read who instead we.
- m. P.113, Insert after para II "استیلا" "
- n. P.119, read A.H. instead A.M.
- o. P.119, line 29 read Abjed instead Ahjie.
- p. P.121, line 13, read He has instead He was.
- q. P.129, S.No.11, read translated by Pir Abdul Kabir Sopori.

known—amongst them, the most important one is *Baharistan-i-Shahi*.

Historiographers in Kashmir wrote either in Sanskrit, especially the ancient Kashmir history, or, with the dawn of Islam in the valley, in Persian. Hassan belongs to the category of Persian writers. By birth and death he represents the 19th century, when Europe was fast advancing and changing with its ideas remotely infiltrating in the Valley through visitors from that land.

Hassan composes poetry, but does not versify history. He wrote his history in Persian prose, which no doubt, is sweet. What Stein wrote for Kalhana can fit for Hassan in his words, "Its author's object is to offer a connected narrative of the various dynasties which ruled Kashmir from the earliest period down to his own time. He begins with the legends which represent the popular traditions of the country regarding its earliest history. These he follows up by a narrative of subsequent reigns taken from older written records and arranged in a strictly chronological order. The final portion of the work, considerable both in extent and historical interest, is devoted to an account of the events which the author knew by personal experience or from the relation of living witnesses". The extract fits with certain modification in regard to Hassan's history. The Part I of Hassan's history deals with geographical data which is compiled on

and its narrative but also can gather some instructive facts from the folklore above referred regarding the author's personality and the home and surroundings in which he lived. The oldest generation in the village Gamroo living at present had the opportunity of learning many accounts about Hassan from their elders which can be considered authentic. Personally, I cannot doubt the honesty of Mr. Abdul Qadeer Fazili, Mr. Ghulam Hassan Araj, Molvi Mohd Afzal Fazili, along with Mr. Mohiuddin Fazili, at least regarding Hassan. A brief analysis of his sources, methods and style along with the folklore about Hassan will throw ample light on the aims and principles which guided him in being a historian.

I acknowledge with gratitude the contribution to this work from my father Mr. Abdul Qadeer Fazili. Had his good wishes not been with my academic pursuits, this work like others would not have been accomplished. With sense of obligation is acknowledged the contribution to the present work by late Molvi Najimuddin Diwani konan Bandipur.

With gratitude is acknowledged the contribution of Professor S. L. Sadhu, Karan Nagar, Srinagar to its linguistic and general improvement. Thanks are also due to Mr. Nazir Ahmad Banday, Department of Political Science, University of Kashmir, for typing and comparing the book before sending it to the press.

Manzoor Fazili
Village Gamroo
Bandipur-Kashmir

Contents

1. Hassan : Kashmir Historiographer	...	17
(i) Hassan's Person & Lineage	...	17
(ii) Hassan's Literary Training	...	36
(iii) Hassan and His Time	...	47
(iv) Hassan's Historiography	...	61
(v) Hassan's Persian Language	...	90
(vi) Hassan's Narration	...	94
(vii) Hassan's Topography	...	100
(viii) Hassan's Poetic Genius	...	102
(ix) Hassan and Nadim	...	114
(x) Hassan's Posterity	...	116
(xi) Bibliography	...	129
(xii) Chronological Charts A,B,C.	...	132

Hassan : Kashmir Historiographer

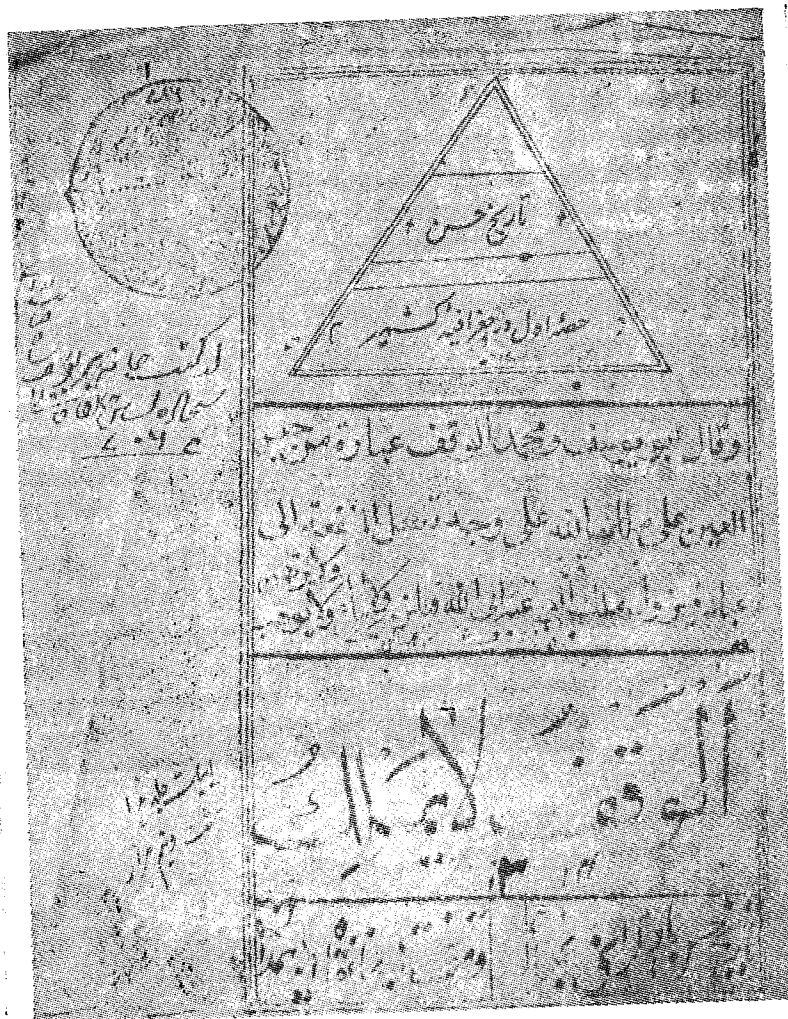
Hassan's Person and Lineage

Pinpointing the main traits of our rulers a foreigner¹ observes that the Pathans were brutish, the Sikhs bullying, the Moghals splendid and the Dogras rude. Hassan represents the age of the Dogras except the last Maharaja of the dynasty. When Gulab Singh acquired Kashmir for seventy five lacs of rupees and ascended the throne in 1846, Pirzada Hassan Shah had attained the age of fourteen. Pirzada Sahib passed away during the reign of Maharaja Pratap Singh. Born before the ascendancy of the Dogra, he was, however, influenced by the age and reacted sharply to the cruelty of the clan. He understood them and also found a way for attaining personal reputation and elevation. In 1876-78 A.D. occurred a terrible famine in Kashmir, which has had no parallel in the recent history of the valley. Hassan was emotionally upset and reacted so sharply that his verses in Persian² on the calamity were brought to the Maharaja³ through the Prime Minister of the time, Dewan Anant Ram. The verses did not only express the gravity of the situation but also conveyed valuable suggestions for immediate succour to the people in the famine stricken areas. His verses thus brought him to the notice of the elite

1. Sir Francis Younghusband.

2. Anand Koul. "Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal" (1913).

3. Maharaja Ranbir Singh.



First page of Hassan's history vol. I By Courtesy :
Library Khanaqahi Maula Srinagar through :

1. Mr. Ghulam Hassan Qureshi
2. Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Zuhara

of his time. Hassan's life dates between 1832 and 1898 A.D.,⁴ whereby he completes 66 years of age. The exact days and dates are traceable and these will follow.

Hassan's seventh ancestor in the paternal lineage, Ganesh Kaul, belonged to Dattaterya Kaul gotra. By profession he associated himself with Judicatory during the time of the Moghals⁵ and was inducted into Islam by Sultanulaffin Sheikh Hamza Mukhdom. On the conversion of the entire family, Ganesh Kaul was renamed Sheikh Ghaziuddin. Having some inherited land (a jagir) situated at Madar in Bandipur, Sheikh Ghaziuddin, lived and died at Madar in 1040 A.H. Writes Ghulam Rasool Sheva in Majmua Sheva :⁶

از شہزاد کول صاحب احتشام جہاد تاتری نامی بنام
در امور ملک دخل نام داشت اعتباری کامل از حکام داشت
ارشاد بود بملک کشمیر منصب قانون کوئی سر بر

4. Date of birth provided by Anand Koul in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal (1913) and both dates by Hassan himself in the verse corroborate.

بمیل باغ قدم آمد و عابد بزیست سال وفاتش ہر شہر بقا و گفت

5. Mujmua Sheva places Sheikh Ghaziuddin in the time of Zainulabidin but Mukhdom Sahib who inducted him into Islam came after Zainulabidin — hence the reference to age is unacceptable. Conclusion is that Sheikh Ghaziuddin was inducted into Islam in his twenties. Mukhdom Sahib passed away in 984 A.H. and Sheikh Ghaziuddin in 1040 A.H.
6. Sheva Ghulam Rasool *Mujmua Sheva*, Photostate copy with Manzoor Fazili, p. 13.

It is worth noting that Kaul's descendents from Dattatrya Munishwara are considered to be the highest of all the clans among Kashmiri Pandits. It is really interesting to copy out here for my readers the extracts from Pt. Anand Kaul describing the account of their deified patriarch—the famous Dattatrya—the embodiment of Hindu trinity—Brahma the Creator, Vishnu the Protector and Shiva the Destroyer—all the three in one. Fauq believes the Dattatryas to be those of men who preach removal of the mundane desires of all human beings. Dattatrya's birth day (Datta Jayanti) falls on the 10th of the bright fortnight of the month of Maghar. So writes Pt. Anand Kaul,

His name means "given to Arti (by gods)" and how it was given to him will be found from the following narrative :

Once upon a time Saint Narad discovered that the wives of the three chief gods had become so conceited that they vaunted they were the models of Pativaratas. A Pativarata is a devoted and faithful wife who has not even dreamt of another mate. Narad began his joke with Parvati by praising in her presence the virtues of Anasuya—the wife of the saint Atri : "So holy, so pious a wife, did not exist."

That remark raised the jealousy of the wife of Shiva and she induced her husband to so persecute the wife of the saint as to deprive her of her chastity." Narad then went to his father, Brahma, and in the presence of his own mother, Savitri, he repeated the same high praise. Savitri insisted on Brahma's persecuting the woman. Finally going to Vishnu, he sowed the same seed of discord with equal success. At the instigation of their wives the three gods started for the hermitage of Saint Atri and simultaneously reached it.

They shouted for alms, and the lady Anasuya came out with a handful of corn. They refused to accept and said that they wanted an *iccha-bhojan*, dinner with wished—for

dainties. She consented. They were asked to bathe themselves in the adjoining river. By the time they returned the food was ready. They took their seats. The hostess came out with the first plate. They refused to accept it and added an impossible condition. They said that she must come out nude ! Revolting though the very thought was, she reflected for a moment and, through her virtuous eye, could see the motive of the guests. She recognised them at once although they were dressed like mendicants. She took a cupful of water, washed her husband's feet with the liquid and sprinkled the washings over the guests. Wonderful to behold ! they became like babies ! She then threw away her sari and lifted up each to suckle ! But the gods lost all power. They could not resume their original full-grown shapes ! They were all put in a cradle and lulled to sleep ! Their wives, missed them ; they waited for their return, but were disappointed. They prayed, they cried—all in vain. Distracted, they started in search. Where the three roads to the three heavens meet, Narad met them ! They asked him if he knew where their husbands were, as he was the living embodiment of all n-e-w-s (North, East, West and South), and as he had access everywhere. He, of course, knew every thing, but he merely told them that they were seen going to Saint Atri's hermitage.

All the three goddesses went to that house. They enquired of Anasuya, If she knew where their husbands, the greats of gods, were. She replied in the affirmative and pointed to the cradle ! Oh lord ! husbands in cradle, nude all dumb ! What could they do ? Anasuya put all the three babies on a carpet and asked each goddess to pick up her own lord. Visnu, the most knowing and the most jocular of them, winked at Brahma and Brahma at Shiva. They thus conspired not to reveal themselves. The goddesses looked, looked again, looked once more, to see if they could, with any mark, make out who was who in that little group. At last Laxmi put her hands forward to lift up Shiva and every one laughed !

Shiva was not her husband ! Seeing Laxmi's discomfiture the other two goddesses withdrew and begged of Anasuya to restore their husbands to them. She was very willing to do them a good turn, but she added that as she had nursed the three gods as her babies they should in return, induce them to stay with her as her children in some form or other. After due consideration of all the pros and cons it was decided that the three gods should assume a combination-shape. The hostess then again took a cupful of water, washed her husband's feet with it and sprinkled the washings containing the dust of the Brahma's feet over the babies. They regained their original shapes, blessed Anasuya and left with their crest-fallen wives ! Dattatreya, this child so born, has three heads and six hands. The central one is Vishnu, the right hand one of the figure is Shiva and the left hand one is Brahma.

He is therefore, called Trimurti or triple figure. He is represented in the firmament by the position of three constellations (1) Mriga, (2) Ardra, and (3) Punarvasu. The two stars of the horns and other two of the neck of the Mriga or antelope form a cradle-shaped figure and the three stars of the belt of Orion, represent the three babies mentioned above. The nearest and the next constellation is Ardra which is represented by one big star. Its name literally means a gem. Next to this constellation is the great Punarvasu literally a house, and is shaped like the front wall of a cottage with a doorway. Sirius, the brightest star in front of Orion, represents the Rishi ATRI, and Ardra the gem represents Anusuya his wife. Punarvasu represents their hermitage, and Orion or Mriga the cradle with the three babies. It is that that when Trimurti came of age, he had four dogs in attendance. They represented the four Vedas. Just near Orion we have Canis Major consisting of four stars. In Trimurti's portrait there is usually a fig tree (*ficus glomerata*) under which he stands. The stars of the horns of the Mriga constellation just above the head of the three babies possibly supplied the material for the



First page of Hassan's history vol II By courtesy :
Library Khangahi Manla Srinagar through :

1. Mr. Ghulam Hassan Qureshi
2. Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Zuhara

construction of the tree. Finally there is a cow usually painted near him. She possibly evolved out of Lupus ... ⁷

Sheikh Ghaziuddin, belonging to this sect of Kashmiri Brahmins, carried with him the traditions of Brahminism in learning, tolerance and perseverance. He had five sons of great repute. The first amongst them was Sheikh Yaqoob (Chattabali) followed by Sheikh Musa, Sheikh Mohd Yousuf (Zunimar Srinagar), Sheikh Mehdi (Sheikh Zova) and Sheikh Hussain (Sheto Hamal). Sheikh Musa died in the year 1084 A.H. and was survived by Sheikh Mohd Fazil. A great seer and saint, Sheikh Fazil died on 10th Moharum 1150 A.H. and is buried at Zunimar Srinagar. His seal is in the possession of Moulvi Mohd Afzal, Gamroo. He had two sons, namely, Sheikh Maroaf and Sheikh Masood. Sheikh Masood retained the traditions of his family and died in the year 1180 A.H. and is buried at Zunimar. His son Sheikh Mohd Afzal was also a man of spiritual attainments besides achieving good economic prosperity. He passed away in 1194 A.H. and was survived by Sheikh Sonaullah, whose two sons, Sheikh Ghulam Rasool & Pir Mustafa lived at Gamroo in Bandipur. The former, father of Hassan, lived at Gamroo and the latter is buried in Malik Sahib's Cemetery in Bandipur town. Sheikh, better known as Pir Ghulam Rasool Sheva, was trained for spiritual and moral life under the stewardship of Mulla Abdul Gani and Abdullah. He had also training from Sheikh Ahmad Tarabali, Shehab Shah Qalandar, Abdul Wahab Tulamulla and Abdul Rehman Wonagami. Ghulam Rasool Sheva died in 1288 A.H.⁸ and is buried at Gamroo in its only Cemetery (excepting Hassan's Cemetery of Mir Did Sahiba). His grave has a small arch type brownish tomb, erected on it.

7. Pt. Anand Kaul, *The Kashmiri Pandit*, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1924, p. 23.

8. Hassan, *Ajazi-Garibha*, Mujadid Amritsar, published by Late Mustafa Gamroo, 1329 A.H.

Hassan's father Sheikh Ghulam Rasool also does not lag behind his illustrious son in learning and scholarship. He had a mastery over Arabic and Persian. Pir Ghulam Rasool Sheva, his father, wrote four books—*Mujmua*, *Risal-Turfa*, *Ajab Manzar* and *Karamat-i-Awalia*. He endeavoured to train his son in his own foot-steps and made him to learn Persian and Arabic to the extent of his Potentialities and Hassan had many. Our historiographer exploited his capacities and overshadowed his father. Today we find that his father could not come out of the oblivion in which circumstances placed him. Sheva was also a farmer and a priest or a pir. The folklore goes to convey that once he was splitting fuel in his compound for domestic consumption when a sepoy arrived with a request for a "Taweez" or amulet considering Sheva as the master's servant. The sepoy asked him to seek the Pir's grace. Sheva rushed inside his house, dressed himself and, befittingly returning took the sepoy unawares. He is also believed to have reared up a dog named 'Kaloo', who watched his poultry.⁹ Probably this trait of his character reflects his ancestral tendency, for it is said that when Trimurti (Dattatrya) came of age, he had four dogs in attendance Ganesh Kaul, who was a descendent of the same geneology, inherited rebellious character because his ancestor reared up dogs and accompanied them, while Anasuya his gracious and beautiful wife carried him on her back from place to place.

Hassan was the eldest of the four brothers—Pir Ghulam, Ahmad Jayid, Pir Ghulam Mohiuddin, and Mohd Pir, the last being the youngest.

Jayid was also a man of letters like others. He was a poet and has left behind the impression that he belonged to a family having good educational background.

9. Checked up with Mr. Mohiuddin Fazili, Gamroo, Bandipur.

Mohd Pir, easily to be termed as a wise man of his village Gamroo, in which all the brothers were born and brought up to heights of distinction. He had been given the same opportunity for education and learning as Hassan. However, he decided to be only a priest and a Hakim. Hassan and Mohd Pir lived together for almost their entire life. The joint family system being the rule during the days, they were parted only by Hassan's death. They lived in the same house, which was constructed by their father Sheva. It was demolished by the grand son of Mohd Pir on 1st October 1960 after more than a hundred years. Mohd Pir as a wiseman, reconciled the spiritual life with the worldly life and the compromise according to many was beyond satisfaction.

Pir Ghulam Mohiuddin was a mystic. Once he absconded from his village. His son Nizamuddin, the folklore says, went to Srinagar to check up his father's whereabouts from another mystic Rahim Sahib of Jamia Masjid.¹⁰ He carried some eatables with him to offer to the mystic. Rahim Sahib conveyed to him that his father would return the next day. While the son was with Rahim Sahib, the father had been recovered by his family the same night along with the loaves of bread and other eatables at their village. He lived in meditation in a cave at Nusoo, near Bandipur town, for six years.

The four brothers had one sister, who is believed to be the mother of Peer Abdul Ahad Nadim—the Naatgo of Kashmir. Hassan had great regard for Nadim. It is believed that he treated him not only as his equal but even superior.

10. Checked up with Mr. Mohiuddin Fazili, by the author. Mr. Mohiuddin Fazili reported it after his father Peer Hissamuddin, the latter is reported to have been informed by Nizamuddin Sahib himself.

This attitude of Hassan towards one junior to him in age is believed to be the consequence of Nadim's spiritual elevation and poetic excellence.

There is hardly any material available about his married life. Some scant information is current, though the whole of it may not be authentic. One record is current in the folklore and that proves beyond doubt that he had two wives. One of them either came from Srinagar, and is believed to be some great paternal aunt (Pophi) of Dr. Ali Mohammad Jan, the leading physician of Jammu and Kashmir State, or from the family of Pirs at Wonagam in Bandipur,¹¹ now surnamed Rehmani's after their great grand father. There are also two versions about his second wife. Some believe that she came from a Sikh family and had been converted to Islam. She is believed to have been married at Pindori, in Rawalpindi District where Hassan had gone to consult the History of Kashmir by Mulla Ahmad. Some consider her to have hailed from Srinagar, who while absconding had to be resurrected to Muslim brotherhood on account of her reluctance to marry against her choice. The folklore corroborates with the view that this¹² lady came from a rich family, bringing some of the riches to Hassan as a dowry. Hassan had no issues from the second wife. The first one bore him two sons. The first son have been variously named as Gula Sahib, or Ghulamuddin Sahib or Ghulam Mohmad Ali. Pt. Anand Kual mentions his name as Gula Sahib, Darvesh Abdul Qadir names

11. Checked up with Hassan Aaraj, grand son of Abdul Ahad Nadim.

12. Her name was Jana Apa and resided at Gamroo. She had brought with her utensils for the preparation of meals and some of these are still available with the descendants.

him as Ghulam Mohamad Ali¹³ and Ibni Mehjoor calls him Ghulamuddin. There is no doubt, however, that his pet name was Gula Sahib. Consequently Gula Sahib could be either named as one or the other. Another of his sons Ghulam Nabi died at a very early age and hence figures nowhere except in the chronological chart of Ibni-Mehjoor.

Gula Sahib left two minor sons—Pir Sayeeduddin Sahib and Pir Mustafa Sahib. Both of them are dead but they are survived by the descendents who live--three families at Gamroo in Bandipur, two families at Arhama Gandherbal and one family at Khanaqahimualla Srinagar. The author had the privilege to see for some years Pir Syeeduddin Sahib,¹⁴ before his death. Most of the descendents are presently government servants of an average status.

The death of Hassan's son, Gula Sahib, pushed the joint family of Hassan and Mohd Pir into a controversy on account of Hassan's attitude to Islamic Code on property. Hassan, under Islamic law, did not intend to grant property to his grand children. The two brothers had a dialogue on the issue but the eldest (Hassan) did not reconcile himself to Mohd Pir's plea of the grant of dues to his two grand sons.

13. (a) Anand Kaul, *The Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1913 calls him Gula Sahib.

(b) Hassan, Ayjazi Ghariba, *Mujadid Amritsar*, 1329 A. H. Introduction by Darvesh Abdul Qadir names him Ghulam Mohd Ali with date of his death on 25 Ziqad 1311 A. H.

(c) Ibni Mehjoor, *Shiraza*, Cultural Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Hassan Number, 1971, called him Ghulamuddin.

14. Hassan had composed the name of his grand son, Syeed, in terms of year of birth as Ghulam Mohd Syeed (i.e. 1307 A.H.).

Mohd Pir did not retreat from his stand. He raised the matter before the congregation of villagers, but no consensus could emerge and Hassan remained adamant as before. Later Mohd Pir recommended Hassan a Shariah device through which the latter could transfer his property to minors in accordance with the instrument of "Tamleeq". Hassan entered the "Tamleeq" without the knowledge of Mohd Pir. During the period Mohd Pir referred the case to Maulana Anwar Shah of Lolab, who gave judgement in favour of minors as the instrument was presented to him by Qadir Sahib,¹⁵ in presence of Mohd Pir. The other version of the episode is given by my father¹⁶. Hassan, being an associate of Lord Lawrence, had managed four or five chaks (Big Chunks of land) to be allotted to different members of his joint family, keeping some exclusively entered into his name. Later Hassan was to receive certain concessions from the government under law, desired entry of his name for the lands available at Gamroo, which his brother Mohd Pir agreed to with a tacit understanding that his children will not inherit out of lands by virtue of the entry of his name in the registers. However, after his death, Hassan's two grand sons, claimed the property and were granted half under the judgement of Maulana Anwar Shah. The land granted to his grandsons under the instrument of Tamleeq, had already been possessed by them.

If the two versions are interpolated, one would arrive at proper conclusion. The different chaks (estate) were entered in the names of the members of the family, in Hassan's name in Tehsil Ganderbal, and in the name of Mohd Pir and others in Tehsil Bandipur. Later Hassan, without any illwill

15. Qadir Sahib was the son of Hassan's only sister, father of Abdul Ahad Nadim.

16. Mr. Abdul Qadeer Fazili, retired Teacher, father of the author.

desired entry of his name in Gamroo Bandipur with a view to receiving certain concessions from the government of the time. On the death of Hassan's son, he did not like to grant properties to his minor sons which Mohd Pir pleaded. Hassan did enter Tamleeq and handed over the instrument to his sister's son. During Hassan's life, the brothers had had no doubts about their mutual sincerity. However, immediately after Hassan's death, his grandsons, who possessed the lands in Tehsil Ganderbal, claimed half in Tehsil Bandipur as Hassan's name was registered there. The case was referred to the Shariah Court of Maulana Anwar Shah. Mohd Pir pleaded absence of Tamleeq to save his property and Qadir Shah presented the same. In retaliation, Mohd Pir claimed in the High Court one Chak which had been entered in the name of his son Rasul Pir, my grand father, in Tehsil Ganderbal, which was consequently granted. Though no feud on this account persists now in the family, some elders, however, still feel its impact.

Hassan's life in the joint family was non-interfering and Mohd Pir actually managed the affairs. There are obviously two reasons for his non-interference---first his pursuits in scholarship and secondly Hassan's temper. Moreover, Hassan used to be mostly out of his native village. Most of his life was spent either in Srinagar or Arhama in Tehsil Ganderbal. The family possessed enough land in that tehsil and Hassan's descendants still own it. At Arahama, a hilly place, and Manigam (both in tehsil Ganderbal) were Hassan's choice. This secluded life was in tone with his temper and nature. He loved beauty and charm and meditated in isolation.

Hassan's religious life was orthodox but not of the Fundamentalist type. He carries with him the traditions of Muslim culture as it developed in Kashmir. Thus, he was mostly under the influence of Seers and Saints—one Ahmad

Shah Tarabali had on him the highest impact.¹⁷ His insistence that his grand children should not inherit his property reflects on his being orthodox. Once a woman conveyed her plight to Hassan on account of her mother-in-law's quarrelsome nature and requested for grant of 'Taweez',¹⁸ or charm. Hassan did so with an instruction that the 'Taweez' may be pressed under the teeth, while her mother-in-law initiated the abuse. Acting upon the instruction, she was relieved of the trouble for mother-in-law was tired of demonstrating her anger as there was no reply. Another time a woman demanded a charm or Taweez saying that her spinning had no dividends. The Pir gave her the charm with the instruction that a thread be attached between her toe and the spinning wheel and it be not broken. Consequently the lady attributed the good results to the charm of Hassan.¹⁹ Hassan's anti-fundamentalism ensues from the fact that he respected Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) to the extent of worship. In the third part of his history, Hassan usually slightly alters the names of his relations as Abdul Rasul instead of Ghulam Rasool.²⁰ He invariably uses Abdul before Rasool in volume III of his history of Kashmir.

The two charms or Taweez reflect that he had the wit and humour of a Brahman. The folklore provides another anecdote of Hassan in which Hassan refuses to offer even a peice of fowl prepared for him to his sister's son Qadir Sahib at Arahama. When enquired of by Qadir Sahib, the matured uncle said, "The fowl cannot be offered, it is to be exhausted." Hassan prompted two of his brother's children

17. Checked up with Hassan Aaraj of Gamroo, who had known it from Anwar Shah Sahib Lolab.

18. Anand Kaul, "Journal of Asiatic Society Bengal".

19. Ibid.

20. Hassan, *Yazkiratul-aulia Kashmir*, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd, Srinagar, vol. III (Urdu), P. 88.

Nooruddin and Saduddin, to present themselves before Sir Walter Lawerence, the then Settlement Commissioner in Jammu and Kashmir, when the latter happened to be at Gamroo in connection with the settlement, with the hope of granting them their ancestral land. He was successful without having to personally request Sir Walter Lawerence.²¹

Hassan had wide contacts. He had contacts with the common man and also with the elite. Lawerence acknowledges the contacts of Hassan in these words, "Pir Hassan Shah, a learned Kashmiri whose work lies entirely among villagers."²² He had full knowledge of the social structure of villages and consequently developed contacts with Sufis, Mystics and learned Brahmins of the valley. He regularly visited Shrines and had contacts with Ahmad Sahib Tarabali, a great seer and saint. He visited the families of the various members of the Dhar clan and his youngest brother Mohd Pir continued to do so even after Hassan's death. My father, Mr. Abdul Qadeer Fazili, now eighty six, has visited Dhars at Khanaqah-i-Sokhta, Nawakadal, Srinagar, with his grand father Mohd Pir.²³

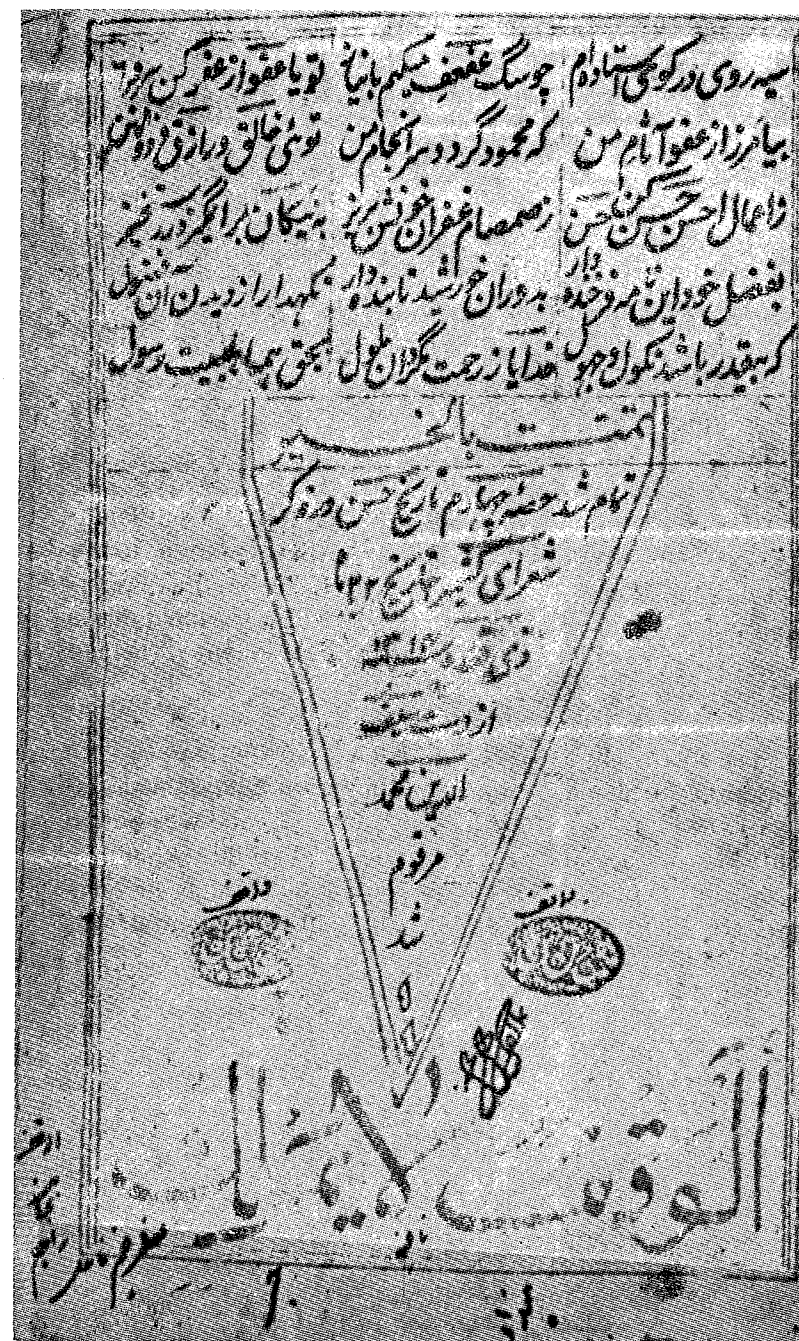
Hassan usually rode a nice pony, the main source of transportation during his time. He had alternative means also, but horse riding was not only convenient to him but also satisfied the urge for luxury in him. Even energetic governors in a small country,²⁴ like the valley, could visit a village in a day's ride. Hassan enjoyed such rides from his village to Srinagar, or Ganderbal or elsewhere. The folklore

21. Checked up with my father Mr. Abdul Qadeer Fazili.

22. Lawerence, W. R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, Henry Frank London ; 1895, p. 454.

23. Checked up with Mr. Abdul Qadeer Fazili, Gamroo, Bandipur.

24. Lawerence, W., *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 12.



Last page of Hassan's history with is real appended on it. By Courtesy : Library Khanaqahi Manla Srinagar through :

1. Mr. Ghulam Hassan Qureshi
2. Mr. Ghulam Ahmad Zuhara

ascribes to this horse riding the loss of Mulla Ahmad's history which he had got from Pindori in Rawalpindi district, now in Pakistan. It is said that while Hassan was crossing the Sind river in Ganderbal Tehsil to visit Manigam, he had a fall from the horse and the book along with the container, a leather bag (in Kashmiri Tagal), was lost in the current. Its second version is ascribed to the capsizing of the boat in the river by Anand Kaul in the Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Hassan, having great capabilities, not only pursued learning but also practised medicine. This was also a family tradition with him as his father and two of his brothers practised in medicine. The operative part of it resulted in the thronging of villagers around him. He consequently, helped the poor and the needy.

Hassan's death is Wreathed in the following words, "our author died at the age of 68 at Gamroo on 28th Jamadi-us-Sani 1316 A.H. 13th November, 1898 A.D. and was buried there in the precincts of the Mazar of Mir Bibi Khatun, a pious woman of his village. A tradition holds that he composed the chronogram of his birth and death and it was

آہ غلام حسن بیل باغ سخن
رفت ازین خوش چین جان بینو
ہاتف فرخندہ فال از پئے تاریخ سال
عمر و ولادت وصال گفت زیک بیست و جو
بیل باغ اصفیا آمد و ساجد بنیریت
از پئے وصال و قیامت سن ہشت و گز

later on discovered from his papers (reproduced below), some ten years before he actually breathed his last."²⁵

The gift in Hassan of forecasting future events finds support in folklore. It is said that the youngest brother once complained to him of being away from home and showed anxiety over his health. Hassan, it is told, gave a rebuttal that he would be informed before hand if illness of death overpowers him. It is reported that some days before his death his youngest brother received the following written message in Persian :

“اجل در رسید بیاند”

“The Angel of Death is near, reach.”²⁶

Mohd Pir, the youngest, rushed to Ganderbal and returned home along with Hassan, only to allow him to die peacefully at home within a week.

25. Tarikh-i-Hassan, Introduction by Sahibzada Hassan Shah, Research and Publication Department, J & K Government, 1954, p. 20.

26. Checked up with Mr. Abdul Qadeer Fazili, Gamroo, Bandipur, (father of the author.)

Hassan's Literary Training

Hassan, the historiographer, tells us nowhere of the education and early studies nor his father provides us with any such information. Occasionally he refers to his lineage and provides some outlines of his life, which by and large, are scant.

Hassan writes, "OH Hassan, fill in the inkpot with fragrant ink, dip the pen in the ink of gold and write the third volume of the book in the name of seers and saints. They are great in presence of God they are the kings dressed in White Khadir—you wasted your time in writing about kings of Kashmir and hence for salvation write about saints so that you might be ressurected with these seers and saints. OH God, Having no Confidence in me, you alone can grant me the power of Research".²⁷

These words with which Hassan opens the third volume suggests that his literary training was based on the theory of Islam as culturally accepted in the Valley. His father who himself was well-versed in the languages trained him in Persian and Arabic. Professor Hajini comments "Whatever Hassan learnt in Persian and Arabic, its almost entire honour should go to his father."²⁸ It was naturally the impact of Islamic literature through Persian and Arabic that he has a

27. Hassan, *Tazakaratulaulia Kashmir*, vol. III (Urdu), Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd. Shrinagar. p. 1.

28. *Mashahiri Kamraz*, Adabi Markaz. '975, p. 28.

commitment to God for all the intuitional knowledge. This fact about him is revealed by his introductions to various parts of *History of Kashmir* and *Aijaze-Ghariba*, a collection of Kashmiri Verses. In the latter work he refers like :

سبب غ معرفت بلیل مد کرتم
بر گلزار حقیقت بر مشرد ستم

The form and style that Hassan chose for his great work is Persian prose, with a style of his own. The prose is poetic in nature. It is, if not musical, atleast attractive and scholarly.²⁹ The Historiographer, mastered persian, at home and his father a scholar in Persian, added to the essence of it. Hassan had the opportunity to meet people of scholarship and had had dialogues with them, not only in the valley, but outside it as well. "He travelled extensively", says Sahibzada Hassan, "over the Punjab and parts of Afghanistan and met some renowned personalities of his time as he himself says in *Aijaz-i-Ghariba*"³⁰

مذکور سیر و سیاحت سر کرانه
سپه شاه دیمه بزرگان زمانه
از انجمله ز روی ارجمند دی
و جمیع خواجہ محمد تاشقندی

These travels had created in him the acuman of a persian scholar and it is believed³¹ that Hassan wrote with equal facility in Persian and Kashmiri. However, his excellence in

29. *ibid.*, p. 29.

30. *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, Introduction, by Sahibzada Hassan Shah, J&K Government Publication, p. 2.

31. *ibid.*, p. 3.

Persian as compared to Kashmiri is revealed by the fact that his three works are prosed in Persian and only one in Kashmiri. One can aptly remark that his poetry in Kashmiri (*Aijaz-i-Ghariba*) is simply art, whereas his history in Persian, *Science of History*. One is a reaction to the environment and the other to scholarship.

Hassan had carefully studied Alama Ahmad's history, *Waqia-i-Kashmir*. Alama Ahmad was the poet laureate of Sultan Zainulabidin of Kashmir. He secured the book from Mulla Mohmud, an Afghan, inhabitant of Pindore village, now in Pakistan. It is a translation of a history written in Sanskrit namely "*Ratnakar Puran*."³² It is not, however, substantiated whether Hassan, simply copied Alama Ahmad's chronicle or he acquired his book and got along with him to complete his work. Folklore, however, substantiates that Hassan lost the book in Kashmir. Writes Sahibzada Hassan about Alama Ahmad's history, "It contains an account of thirty five kings who ruled over Kashmir five thousand years ago and also of seven kings who ruled from the end of the second to the beginning of the sixth century. These accounts were lost to history. Our author used this book with benefit for the portions of his work, dealing with ancient Kashmir."³³ It is beyond doubt that Hassan had no knowledge of Sanskrit. It is testified by the sources consulted by him in preparation of his history. It includes none of the Sanskrit books. It is for this reason that Hassan had to travel to Pundori, for consulting an Urdu version of "*Ratanakar Puran*".

There is clear indication from Hassan's works that in the absence of any knowledge of Sanskrit, he had no knowledge of epics like *Mahabharata*. As a Musalman, he had the literary training in Persian and Arabic, which is clearly testified by

32. Ibid., p. 3.

33. Ibid.

his work. His works are manifestations of Muslim culture. It is this rationale that he describes various Hindu kings and dynasties with his comments, whereas, in describing Muslim Kings his approach is a bit, if not altogether, different. Hassan's treatment of Zainulabidin is better than his interpretation of Lalitaditya. He has not treated even Dogra Kings in detail, though he could get enough of material about them. However, it does not mean that he was communal. His deletion of the contribution of Shia Poets in history of Persian poets reflects that he represented a class. He was conscious of his class and as representative of a class, in terms of Marx, he expressed only values and standards of the class to which he belonged.

There are indications of Hassan's literary training in the frequent references which he makes to particular poets and scholars in the reigns of various kings.³⁴ These notices are of considerable interest for the history of Persian language in Kashmir. It is, however, noted that these literary data were either borrowed or reproduced from the earlier works. However, the mention of poets either representatives of the Courts of Zainulabidin or Yousuf Chak or others show that these scholarly excursions by Hassan are facilitated by virtue of his being not only a versatile Persian writer but also as poet having taste for linguistics.

The significant reference to the literary training of the author Hassan is provided by his own pen in the introduction of the second part of his history. In its contents the historiographer tries to provide us the views of different religions-theoreticians, intellectual excursioners in the domain of knowledge with regard to the origin and age of the universe. It clearly shows that he had not only studied Greek and

34. Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, J&K Government Research Publication, 1980, p. 2.

Iranian literature with Hindu scriptures but also acquainted himself with christian, Budhist and Zurietran religious philosophies. However, he understood everything through Persian. Sure it is that he had been trained in Islam and its literature. His literary training seems so rigorous that he gives his personal observation and judgement in these lines :

"Past is known to none except God—even revelational dreams are not acceptable and testifiable."³⁵

Hassan reveals his person in its totality in his works. In particular he is overt in his composition of Ayjazi-Ghariba, wherein he reveals his bringing up and training all along his childhood and adulthood. He is conscious and proud of his ancestral background and as Sahibzada Hassan writes, "Perhaps the most illustrious scion of this family was Sheikh Muhammad Fazil (D. 1150 A.H.,=1737 A.D.) who was awarded a Jagir by the Mughals and who settled in Mohalla Zoonimar in Srinagar. Referring to him our author says in his book Ayjazi-Ghariba ;

بعد خود شواہد شیخ کشمیر
ز شاہان چغتس اوس جاگیر

(in his times he was the Sheikh of Kashmir; from the Mughal emperors he had received a Jagir).

During the Sikh rule, the family lost the prestige and was stripped of its honours and jagirs, whereby, the descendants

35. Ibid., Translations by Molvi Abraham, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd, Maharajgunj, Srinagar, vol. II, 1957, p. 9.

of Sheikh Fazil migrated to Gamroo, in Khuhamā. The author comments on it in the following verse:—

سب کھوید بند کوز جاگیر شونی
لگو در کھو ہامہ بابہ میونی

(when the Sikhs confiscated our jagir, my father had to settle down in Khuhamā).³⁶

Undeniable as Sheva's (Hassan's father) contribution to Hassan's literary training is, it is at the same time total. However, later the author acquired the knowledge of Tib (Greek medicine) as well. Darvesh Abdul Qadir, in an introduction to the first printed edition of Ayjazi-Ghariba, remarks that Hassan was trained by his father in, "Astrology, Talismanship, Necromance, Intuitionism, medicine mathematics and Mensuration".³⁷ Sahibzada Hassan admits that this training equipped him for his ancestral profession of a religious preceptor and a physician. He had great veneration for Saint Mukhdum Sheikh Hamza for whom he expresses the following sentiments in Ayjazi-Ghariba :

مداوم از سعادت حبان تقدیر
جناب شیخ حمزہ چھم پن پیر
جس میانس تو دیوت تاج اسلام
کرن تش شیخ غازی ناو زاکرام

The Saint Mukhdum Sheikh Hamza who first initiated Ganesh Kaul to the fold of Islam, was treated by Hassan as his Pir.

36. Hassan, Ayjazi-Ghariba, Ghulam Mohammad Noor Mohd Maharajgunj, Srinagar, n. d., p. 70.

37. Hassan, Ayjazi-Ghariba, Mujadid, Amritsar, published by Pir Mustafa Gamroo, 1329 A.H.

In his work *Ayjazi-Ghariba*, Hassan commits to the Sheikh the following :

حضرت مخدومہ میانہ سرپرستہ اس دلخستہ بوزتم زار
نظرہ کرتہم چھٹن بیکس تہ اس دلخستہ بوزتم زار
چانہ ستہ شوب آیہ کل عالمس تہ چانہ ستہ کاشرولوب اعتبار

(Hazrat Makhdum my guardian, being broken hearted, hear me, look at me I am helpless, you have brought beauty to the world and through you the Kashmiris acquired credibility.)

Hassan, however, was later initiated into the Naqshbandi order of the Muslim mystics of Kashmir by Khawaja Muhammad Tashkandi.

Initiation into the Naqshbandi order, earlier belief in Hinduism made our historiographer a blend of two cultures. He had inherited Hindu culture, with its idol worship and the Muslim culture, with strong notions of Tawheed (Monism). Hindu culture had resulted into his belief that he could get a place in heaven if he brings the biography of saints and seers to the lime light.³⁸ Even *Ayjazi-Ghariba*, in praise of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him), reflects the same contention. His use of Abdul Rasool, instead of Ghulam Rasool is a pointer towards it. However, he is strong in his beliefs of Islamic principles and thanks God for his ancestral conversion.

Hassan had profound faith in the Quran and Sunna, in addition to other Islamic principles. He has the concept of

38. Hassan, *Tazakirat-ulawalia*, vol III (Urdu), trans. Molvi Abraham, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd, Maharajgunj, Srinagar, 1960, p. 1.

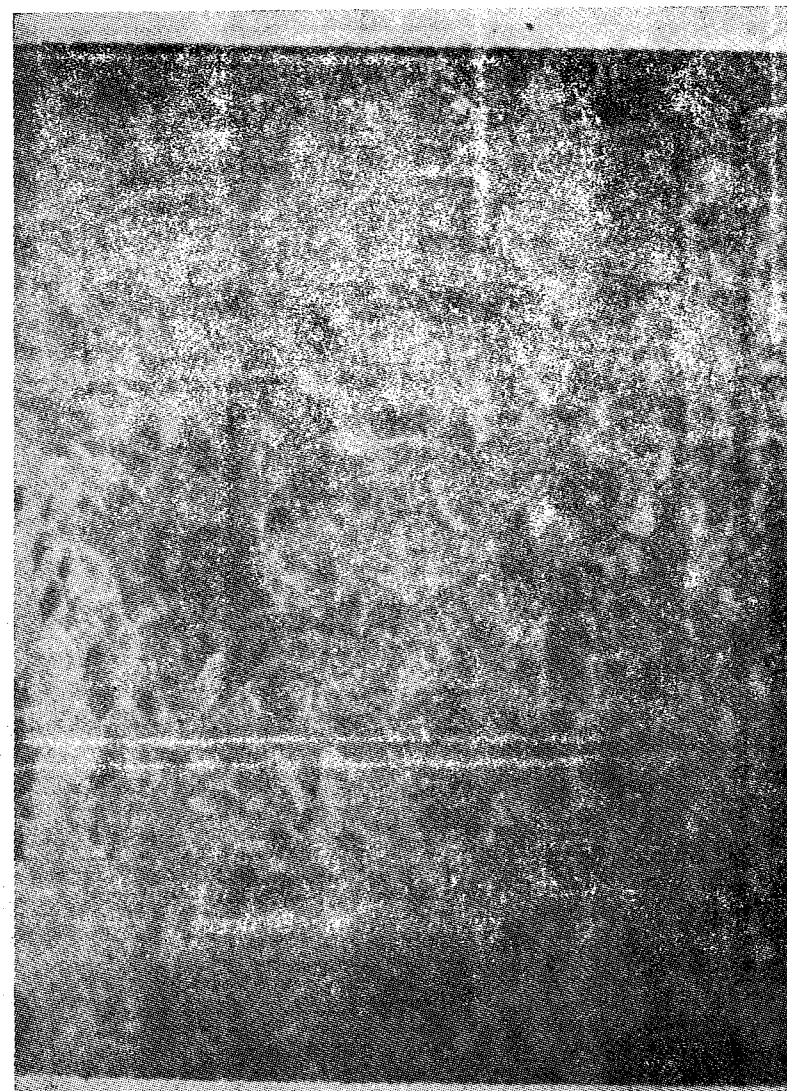
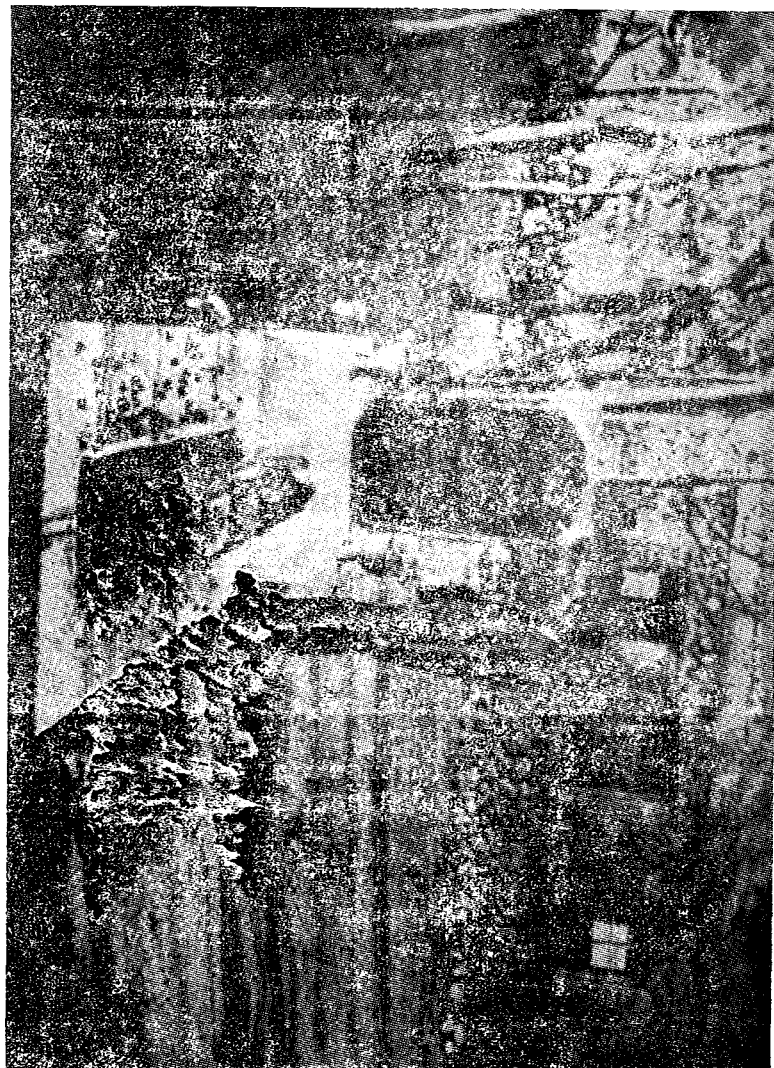


Photo : By Courtesy of Academy of Art, Culture and Language Srinagar.
Hassan's burial ground.



sin as the Quran puts it. In accordance with the Quranic belief, he desires salvation from all his omissions in life and thus prays:-³⁹

عمل کینہ چھینہ الاچھس تباہ کاد گناہ چھم کر متوا سبار انبار
خبر کینہ چھینہ فردا کیہ ہنم مہ خدائیس نش اپڑتہ پڑنہم مہ
امید اچھم خدایس ارتھاؤ پڑن پیر از کرامت مؤکبہ لادہم

There is no doubt that Hassan had been trained in the Quran and Sunna in his childhood in accordance with the traditions of the family. The traditional Maktab in village Gamroo continues till this date. Hassan's father used to coach boys and girls during his time and its continuance is owed to Mohammad Pir, the youngest brother of the historiographer. Later it was run by Pir Mohammad Suliman (Hassan's youngest brother's son), upto 1961. After the death of Mohammad Suliman, the Muktab was run by a seer and saint of the same village namely Molvi Ghulam Hassan Aaraj.

Every one of his works, whether history or poetry, or prose, Hassan starts with the verses of the Quran, or a verse related to the basic tenets of Islam or morals. Gulistan-i-Ikhlāq, a long moral poem in Persian, Kharita-i-Asrar, a compilation in Persian on almanacs, astrology and medicine, three parts of the history of Kashmir and Ayjazi-Ghariba—one and all, are dedicated (their introductions) either to the verses of the Quran or to the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) or to the verses relating to the same purpose. For example, the third volume of the History is given the

39. Hassan, Ayjazi-Ghariba, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd, n.d., p. 70,

caption from Romi, the Great Persian poet with the following verses :⁴⁰

یک زمانه صحبت با اولیاء بہتر از صد سالہ طاعت بے ریا
گر تو سنگ خارہ مر مر شوی چوں بہا حیدل زکی گوہر شوی

40. Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, Ghulam Mohd. Noor Mohd, vol. II & III, pp. 1 & 1.

III

Hassan And His Time

During the middle of the eighteenth century, Raja Ranjit Dev, ruling Jammu, had acquired great power. He knit together most of the principalities around Jammu. However, soon after his death his descendents became involved in the political currents which pervaded the Punjab at that time. This culminated in the establishment of Sikh rule in the Punjab and Jammu became part of it.

The subsequent history of these principalities and their unification is the story of the career of Raja Gulab Singh.⁴¹ Raja Gulab Singh, in lieu of his services to Maharaja Ranjit Singh of the Punjab, was created Maharaja of Jammu in 1819. He consolidated the State and as early as 1831, M. Jocquement, a French traveller, had written of Raja Gulab Singh. After Ranjit Singh's death in 1839, when Hassan was only six years of age (i.e. in infancy) the Government of Lahore became weak and the reverses of British Army in Afghanistan, gave Gulab Singh a chance to help the British. This paved the way for future friendship between the Dogra potentate and the British power. This finally resulted in the most infamous treaty, known as 'The Treaty of Amritsar', entered on 16th of March 1846, whereby the British transferred to him the valley of Kashmir in lieu of seventy five lakhs of rupees and recognised him as the Maharaja. This time Hassan's age was fourteen years.

41. A Handbook of J & K State Publicity Department, Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1947, p. 19.

Maharaja Gulab Singh used all his energies to consolidate the State. The frontiers of the State were very vast at the time of his ascendancy to the throne and these frontiers of the State were very vast at the time of his ascendancy to the throne and these frontiers were disturbed. His first task therefore was to subdue the turbulent tribes on the borders of the State and establish order in his vast territories which had never been under one ruler before that.

Later, the death of Gulab Singh followed the ascendancy of Maharaja Ranbir Singh who succeeded in consolidating further the frontiers of the State including Gilgit. It is believed that Maharaja Ranbir Singh was essentially a man of peace and devoted himself to the carrying out of administrative reforms.⁴² During this period Hassan had entered youth and was conscious of his surroundings. About Gulab Singh, Hassan heard, but did not consciously evaluate, whereas, Hassan felt and tasted rule of Maharaja Ranbir Singh.

Hassan writes high of the Maharaja Ranbir Singh. He admits that the Maharaja visited the valley, and looked into problems of the people personally and returned to Jammu. He believes that during the reign of Ranbir Singh, Tehsils were created and other administrative reforms were carried. According to him the services of intelligent people were borrowed from outside and a smooth administration was provided throughout the state. Further, it was observed that judicial reforms were inducted and each place, had courts to hear the cases and settle them. The army too was reorganised.⁴³

42. Ibid., p. 25.

43. Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd, Maharajgunj, Srinagar, Urdu trans., Molvi Abraham, 1958 pp. 573-80.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh, however, ruled through his Governors in the valley, like others earlier to him. Hassan, describing some of them as good governors and some tyrants, reveals facts only. About Wazir Punjoo, he is all praise for fighting the cholera and problems arising out of intermittent rains and snow fall in earlier summer. Punoo was followed by Diwan Kripa Ram who when faced with a famine in the valley initiated the ration system. He reorganised the valley in five districts.⁴⁴ Diwan Kripa Ram was followed by the appointment of Diwan Thakur Dass, as the Governor of Kashmir. Wrought by many problems, including cholera, Diwan Thakur Dass was according to Hassan, incompetent and corrupt. He realised from the people a tax for his personal ends.⁴⁵ According to Hassan Wazir Punoo's second tenure as governor of the valley (Diwan Thakur Dass, being already in know of his job, according to Hassan) brought to him a bad name. At his instigation, youth were compelled to use intoxicant juice of opium. Then followed the Governor Anant Ram. Immediate to his ascendancy he had to face a severe famine, though some rice and wheat was imported, yet the situation could not be controlled fully. However, it was at the instance of this Prime Minister, Anant Ram, that Hassan was prompted to write the History and throw light on the economic and administrative conditions prevailing in the valley. Sahibzada Hassan writes, "From the author's papers⁴⁶ in the custody of his descendants at Gamroo we have discovered a letter (reproduced below) which shows that Diwan Anant Ram, the contemporary prime minister, persuaded him to compile a geography of Kashmir which eventually forms volume I of the present publication ;

44. Ibid., p. 576.

45. Ibid.

46. Hassan, *Tarikh-hKia-smir*, v I, J & o I.K Government, Srinagar, p. 5.

بعلی خدمت فیض موبت، بندگان حضور، فیض گنجد دیوان
صاحب، فیاض زمان، مغرور دوران عالم، کیوان کلیم، سلطنت
مشیر مملکت دام اقبالهم واجلالهم میرساند کم

فرمان لازم الاذعان که در باره تصنیف کتاب جغرافیہ کشمیر
بنام این گمنام صادر شدہ بود پرتو ورودار زنی فرمود رجائی واثق اکثرت
کہ در تمہید و تسوید آن بدل و جان کوشش کردہ آید۔ چونکہ تاحال
کسے از مؤرخان کشمیر ذکر مکانات متبرکہ اہل ہندو بفارسی ضبط
تاریخ نہ کردہ است نظر بر اہل در تہئین مکانات اہل ہندو را آہنجناہ
امداد و اعانت باید بود۔ امید دارم کہ بنام کسے پنڈت شاستردان
ارشاد صادر شود کہ بموجب کتاب سیکہ مت پران و غیرہ تمامی
استحان مانے دیوی و دیوتا و بیروہا و غیرہ بندہ را مترجم گرداند۔

احوال ملک نوعیکہ بود بدستور۔ بعض رعایا آکابر و بعض مغرور
خیانت کنندگان معزور۔ مالگزاران مقہور۔ بدنامی منتظمان مشہور
در آبادی آئینہ در بعض جاہ مانگان مقہور۔ در بے باقی نایبست
فتور۔ بندہ در تشریح و توضیح آن معذور۔ زیادہ آفتاب دولت
و حشرت تابندہ و درخشان باد۔

ع

غلام خاکار حسن شاہ

"This ultimately led to the compilation of a complete history of Kashmir from earliest times to the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh."

Hassan's evaluation of the times of Ranbir Singh, provokes us to think. He writes against or brings out clearly the shortcomings of different governors of the valley or the prime ministers. However, he does not write explicitly against the Maharaja. This concession is due to Hassan. Even in democratic governments, one would not be able to criticize his political leaders, and Hassan being under a Monarchical rule without having a sense of security against the ruler through laws, he is bold enough to bring to the notice of the Dogra Prime Ministers, from time to time, no doubt, in an intelligent way, the distress of the people.

"Ahwal-e-Mulk naua'-e Ke, bud, badastur. B'az reaya abad baz mafrur. Khayanat-Kunandagan maghrur wa mal-guza, an maghur. Badnami-e-muntaziman mashhur.... Banda dar tashrih O Tauzih-e-an M'azur..."⁴⁷

(The sorry state of affairs in the country remains unrelieved. Some (sections of) people are well off while others have slipped away. The betrayers of the trust (: misappropriators) are impudent, while the revenue-payers are frowned upon. Administrators bunglings are an open secret. (but) the humble servant (: the writer) can ill-afford to comment and dilate (any further) on that").

The above cited extract explicitly provides the conditions of his time. Kashmir was malgoverned under the despotic rule, and even man like Hassan could not dilate on corruption and misappropriations. His reactions are commendable. It seems that he feels the agony of the people. During his last days, Hassan confesses, he had seen Gulab Singh once, though he gives him credit for being chivalrous, yet treats him a man of greed.⁴⁸

47. *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, vol. IV, Persian poets in Kashmir, Research and Publication Department, Srinagar, Government Press, Introduction, p. 12.

48. Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Trans. by Molvi Abraham, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd, Maharajgunj, Srinagar, 1958, p. 572.

After many upheavals between the British and the Sikh rulers, the Punjab came under complete subjugation of the former on 14th March 1849.⁴⁹ During the Sikh rule two governors from Lahore were Sheikh Mohiuddin and Sheikh Imramuddin. Sheikh Mohiuddin according to Hassan was a benevolent Governor but Imramuddin had little chance to serve owing to instructions from Lal Singh, who later was imprisoned by the British resident. Consequently Gulab Singh, during the pleasure of the British, decided to rule Kashmir through his appointed Governors while the Punjab had already gone under the British administration. Though all along this period, Hassan was minor, yet owing to his intelligence could not but be influenced.⁵⁰

Comparing Gulab Singh's reign with that of Sikhs', his preference is for the former, probably, for the maintenance of law and order by him. Sikhs had given a bad rule through their governors and though Hassan during this period was minor yet he having heard from his elders the atrocities perpetuated by Sikh rule could not but be impressed by the improvement provided by the reign of Gulab Singh.⁵¹ Hassan is a truthful chronicler. On the one hand he praises good qualities of Gulab Singh, on the other he places before us his weakness by declaring him communal. Hassan is no doubt impressed by the chivalry of Gulab Singh. He confesses it in his history and commits that he had seen the king in the last days of his life.

Hassan attains physical and intellectual maturity during the reign of Ranbir Singh, who ruled the state between 1857

49. Ibid, p. 558.

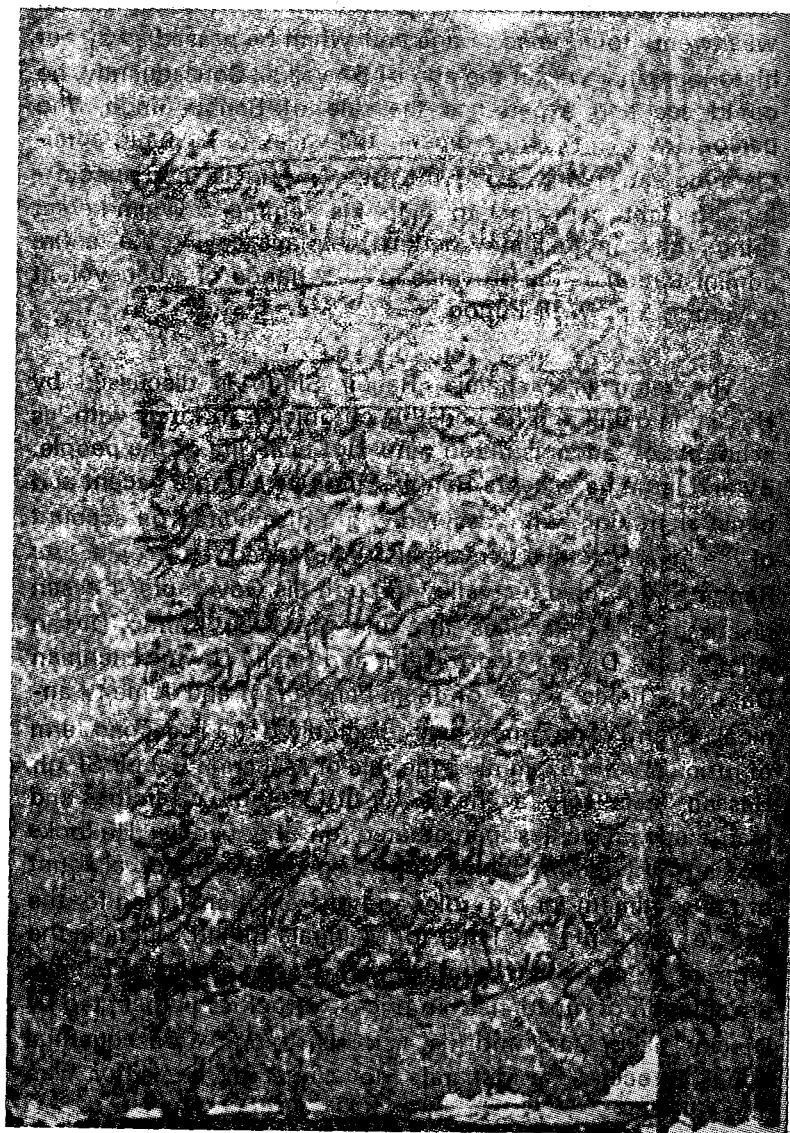
50. Shiraza (Urdu) *Hassan Number*, Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, Delite Printing Press, Delhi, N. D., p. 17.

51. Ibid.

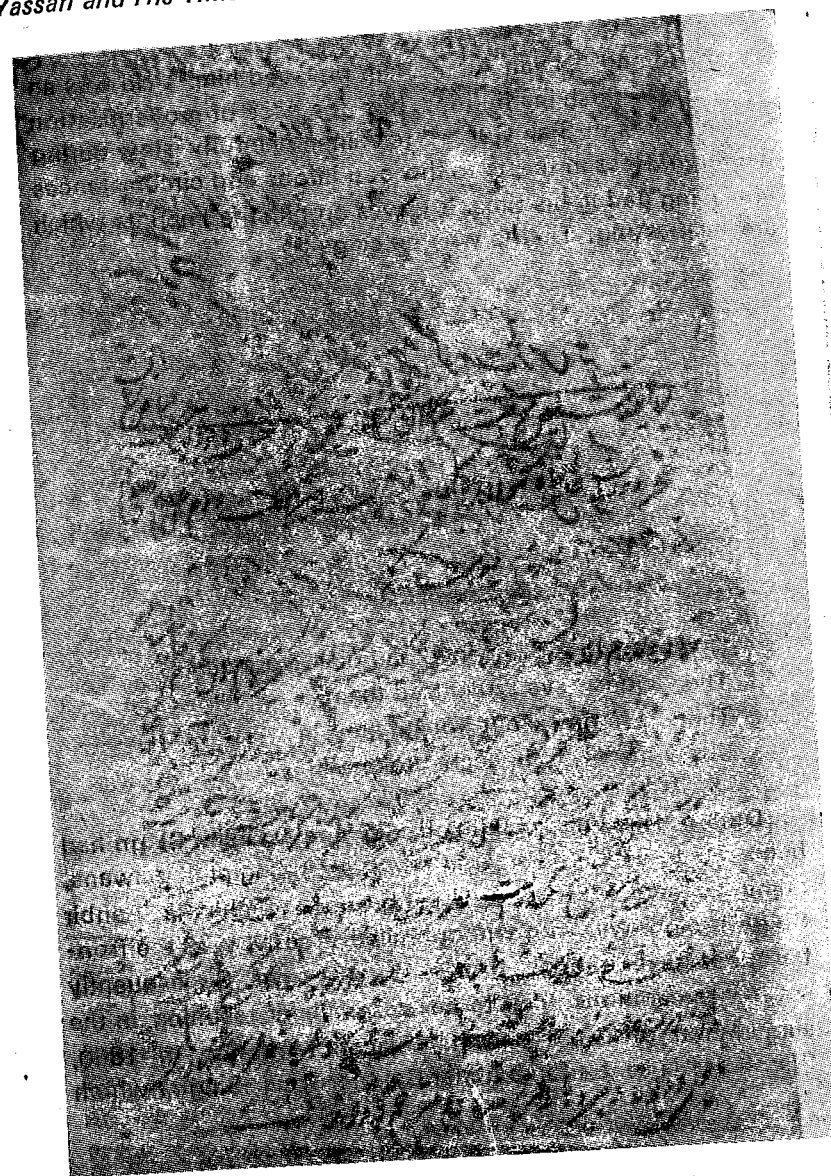
and 1885. When the Maharaja ascended the throne, Hassan was twenty four years of age and when he passed away our historiographer was at the age of 52 years. Consequently, he could see and experience the rule of Ranbir Singh, who personally spent some time in the valley of Kashmir, administering and reorganising the different areas and appointing efficient personnel to help his regime. When he set things right in Kashmir, he left the place, leaving the entire administration of the province in the hands of a benevolent governor, Mr. Wazir Punoo.⁵²

The reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh is discussed by Hassan in detail and he ends his chronicler of kings with his accounts of administration and political life of the people. By and large he accepts Ranbir Singh as a good, decent and benevolent king, who assuredly got discredited on account of the administrative personnel who fleeced the people. As Ranbir Singh ruled the valley through his Governors, Hassan discusses and examines the rule of Wazir Punoo, Diwan Anant Ram, Diwan Badri Nath and finally Diwan Luchman Dass. He holds some of them benevolent and some tyrannical. Even Wazir Punoo gets discredited in his second term of office. While examining the rule of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, Hassan feels sore at heart for the natural calamities and man-made atrocities perpetrated on the people. He looks forward to help but seems to be helpless. Finally on account of the sentiment for the ruler and the emotional drag for the people, he writes a letter to Maharaja Ranbir Singh, in the form of a pamphlet, commenting on the results of famine, devaluation of rupee, rise in prices, atrocities perpetrated by Diwan Thakur Dass and his administration. Consequential upon its receipt the Maharaja got angered, Governor was

52. Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*. n. 40, pp. 573-74.



*Hassan's letter addressed to Prime Minister,
Diwan Anant Ram*



*Hassan's letter addressed to Prime Minister
Diwan Anant Ram*

dismissed and Diwan Anant Ram replaced him.⁵³ He was an admirer of British institutions, but the pace of modernisation in the words of Sisir Gupta⁵⁴ remained painfully slow during his reign. Hassan reacts to the conditions and circumstances prevailing during his time. It leaves on him the imprints which are everlasting. That is why he sings :⁵⁵

کاشمیرین خلقن چھ گومت ترس تہ
 کافرو کریک ظلم بسیار
 نری سواکس چھک فریاد رس تہ
 اس دلخس تہ بوز تم زار

"Kashmiris are dampened and disintegrated
 The vicious have tyrannized them,
 There is none except You to pray,
 Show mercy, I am heart-broken."

During Hassan's childhood, Maharaja Gulab Singh had been able to establish order in the State, riding at of galwans, criminals and other anti-social groups. Maharaja Ranbir Singh's reign was not without military activity, as the frontier tribes gave enough trouble to the ruler. Consequently several expeditions had to be despatched resulting in the subjugation of Gilgit and its adjacent territories. In 1860, the Maharaja sent a force under Colonel Devi Singh, which

53. Ibid., p. 587.

54. Sisir Gupta, *Kashmir : A Study in India-Pakistan Relations*. Asia Pub. House, Delhi 1966, p. 22.

55. Hassan, Ayjazi-Garibah, Gulam Mohd Noor Mohd, p. 71.

reduced the fort built by Gouhar Rehman who had then passed away. Gilgit was re-occupied. The forces then advanced towards Yasin and took it. Raja Isa Bagdur of Punial, who had incurred the wrath of Gouhar Rehman, was reinstalled in his own principality, including Ishkoman, which was reduced by a force led by -Col. Hoshiara. In 1865, there was again trouble in Gilgit but after the establishment of a garrison at Gilgit, things were again set right. In 1867, Punial was invaded by its enemies from Yasin, but relief was sent from Gilgit and order restored. The valley of Chapat, Chalt were held by Nagar and Kashmir troops. In 1876, Yasin Kuh-Ghizr and Ishkoman were under the rule of Mehtar Pahalwan Bahadur, who belonged to the ruling dynasty of Chitral and professed allegiance to the Maharaja of Kashmir but he proved treacherous. Consequently, the Maharaja of Kashmir permitted Aman-ul-Mulk to incorporate the whole county. He partitioned the districts among governors, who were given the position of paid governors under the Maharaja after their severance from Chitral. Hassan was a witness to all these events, including the rebels in principalities of Karnah and other areas around Gilgit and Karnah. Being a domicile of Bandipur, he experienced the onslaught of these military adventures in these areas on account of the system of Begar (forced labour). He also witnessed how a contingent of army was placed in every tehsil⁵⁶ to suppress, oppress and exploit the people by the local administrators. He could not remain silent in the face of infanticide, kidnapping and muslim marriage tax. Hassan could react sharply against the fall of Shawl industry. The official records show that the Shawl trade recieved a very serious set back after the Franco-German war of 1870.⁵⁷

56. Kashmir Valley was divided into 22 Tehsils under the Governorship of Wazir Punoo. Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, (Urdu) p. 575.

57. *A Hand-book of J&K State*, Ranbir Government Press, 1947, p. 25.

Hassan enumerates all the atrocities perpetrated against the people of Kashmir during Maharaja Ranbir Singh. How people were leashed, tortured and ransacked? How twenty eight persons were drowned to death,⁵⁸ when Shawl workers rebelled against their oppression. To what extent Muslims were burdened on account of tax on Nikah or marriage.

In 1872, there occurred a fierce clash between Shia and the Sunni Muslims in Kashmir. Without discussing the relative merits of the feud, Hassan is pained to describe the gutting of 690 houses in the fire caused by one of the parties and condemns Sunni Gondas (vagabonds) for the inhuman acts perpetrated and at the same time he relates the facts as they were. Hassan's sentimental agony is reflected when he describes the event as "Jegri-i-Sokhata".⁵⁹

Hassan violently loves Kashmir and his brethren living there. As an intellectual he reacts rationally towards the problems faced by them. When during Wazir Punno's administration the Maharaja ordered for the revenue assessment and improvement, his revenue officers sowed seeds of papaver in the kitchen gardens and when it was ready they used minors to harvest it under coercion. Consequential upon it corruption ensued to save minors. During Wazir Punoo's second term of office, when everything went wrong Hassan described him as "Zalmi-Azlam".⁶⁰ He also painfully makes mention of Dr. Bulher, orientalist, who purchased nearly eight hundred Sanskrit books and carried them to his country. He mentions this purchase just because the ego of a Kashmiri was touched at such a loss.

Maharaja Ranbir Singh died in 1885 and was succeeded by his eldest son, Maharaja Pratap Singh. At his ascendancy

58. Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, n. 40. pp. 567-595.

59. *Ibid.*, p. 580.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 594.

to thorne Hassan was 52, and both by virtue of his family influence and his acquired reputation as an intellectual, the new ruler accorded him recognition. When Sir Walter Lawrence (1889-1894) tookover as Settlement Commissioner, he became his guide to help the latter in his communication with the illiterate Kashmiris. Two years before Hassan's death Lawrence accomplished his task and left the valley, but during the latter's stay he had grasped the English language and further deepened his first hand knowledge of the peasantry that won him high praise with Lawrence.⁶¹ However, Lawrence does not provide any mention in his diaries about Hassan. Whatever little we find with Lawrence is provided in his book "The valley of Kashmir". In response to my explorations from India Office library, London, the officer of the Library said:

"I am sorry to say that, although we possess the papers of Sir Walter Roper Lawrence (MSS.Eur.F. 143), I do not believe that they contain any helpful references to Hassan Shah. He is certainly not among Lawrence's Indian correspondents during the period from 1889 to the outbreak of the first world war. We do have Lawrence diaries from 1890 to 1895; but these are rather matter of fact, with few comments on personalities; and from a cursory glance through them I have not been able to find any mention in them of Hassan Shah. I enclose a Xerox copy of a specimen page from a diary to give you a general idea of the way in which they are written".⁶²

This letter is self-revealing but the fact remains that neither Hassan nor Lawrence write on each other except what is noted above. Hassan does not write on Pratap Singh's

61. Lawrence, W., *The Valley of Kashmir*, London, 1895, p. 454.

62. Brigid Allen's (India Office Records, London) Letter to Dr. Fazili vide his No.FL3/E/1/259 dated 9th June, 1980.

reign nor does he mention his contacts with the ruler nor anything on his assignment as a guide. But it is beyond doubt that his association with the new Maharaja and Lawrence must have influenced our great. Thus, historian. the great historiographer had inherited the quality of a Brahmin, as discussed earlier and acquired the qualities of a rational being and honest historiographer by virtue of the impacts of his time and environment.

IV

Hassan's Historiography

The significance and interest which Hassan's work possesses for us lies in its character as a historical record; a detailed information it furnishes regarding the ancient, medi-
eval and modern times upto the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. This fact in addition makes us more conscious that Hassan excels Kalhana at least in bringing forth the records of those thirty five lost kings which the latter had not been in a position to incorporate in his chronicle. Hassan incorporated the details of these thirty five kings from Mulla Ahmed's *Waqia-i-Kashmir*. The account of these thirty five kings is missing in Kalhana's chronicle as also of the kings who reigned before and after Ranaditya, (whose reign according to Kalhana extended over a period of 300 years) from 191 to 414 A.D. and 474-521 A.D. The note of Stein regarding these kings is interesting to read:—

"After Gonanda, the second, Kalhana places thirty five kings whose "names and deeds have perished through the destruction of records." This gap represents the remainder of the traditional number of lost kings whose names Kalhana had not been able to recover. It is only natural that a lacuna so prominently indicated should have exercised the imagination of uncritical compilers, who have dealt with the early regal lists of Kashmir, on the basis of Kalhana's work. And accordingly we find the gap duly filled in the works of some of the latter Muhammadan chroniclers who otherwise only give extracts from

Kalhana by a list of royal names representing a curious jumble of mythical Hindu and Muhammadan designations".⁶³

Hassan is one of the prominent and important Muhammadan chroniclers who fills in the gap. He records the following list of these kings:—

1. Hieran Deva	...30 years reign
2. Rama Deva	...69 "
3. Vyasa Deva	...56 "
4. Dróna Deva	...58 "
5. Simha Deva	...54 "
6. Gopala Chand	...13 years and 3 months
7. Vijayanand	...25 years reign
8. Sukha Deva	...44 "
9. Ramanand	...57 "
10. Sandhiman	...66 "
11. Marahan Deva	...55 "
12. Kaman Deva	...55 "
13. Chandra Deva	...52 "
14. Anand	...28 "
15. Drupad Deva	...51 "
16. Harnam Deva	...39 "
17. Sulkan Deva	...28 "
18. Sena Dat	...17 "
19. Mangala Dat	...39 "
20. Kshemendra	...66 "
21. Bhima Sen	...61 "
22. Indra Sena	...46 "
23. Sundara Sena	...41 "
24. Galgandar	...45 "
25. Bala Deva	...53 "
26. Nala Sen	...25 "
27. Gokarna	...36 "
28. Prahalada	...11 "

63. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, Tr. M.A. Stein, Moti Lal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1979, Vol. 1, note 72, p. 73.

29. Bampur	... 8	1 years reign
30. Pratapa Sila	...36	"
31. Sangrama Chand	... 1	"
32. Lark Chand	...31	"
33. Beram Chand	...45	"
34. Vibhikhanna (Vibbishana)	...17	"
35. Bhagavant	...14	" ⁶⁴

List of six kings before and one after the reign of Ranaditya is as under :

1. Tunjina	...191-234 A.D.
2. Sarabsena	...234-282 A.D.
3. Gandharv Sena	...282-319 A.D.
4. Lachman	...319-352 A.D.
5. Surak	...352-403 A.D.
6. Vajraditya	...403-414 A.D.
7. Ranaditya	...414-474 A.D.
8. Vainyaditya	...474-521 A.D. ⁶⁵

Hassan is both a historiographer and poet but history is not poetry for him like Kalhana. He writes prose, that too Persian prose, for during his life time and earlier, Persian language was the court language of the State. Consequently, our historiographer planned his work in 4 volumes of Persian language. The volume first deals with Geography, volume II with political history, while volumes III and IV are devoted to an account of saints, Reshis, Scholars and poets of Medieval and modern times.

The historiographer has significance of not being a court historian but he presented it to the world just for the sake of

64. Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, Persian, Research Department, Jammu and Kashmir Government, vol. II, pp. 15-37.

65. *Ibid.*, pp. 71-76.

his friends: —⁶⁶

پے تربت خاطر دوستان ہندام من این تحفہ را در جہاں

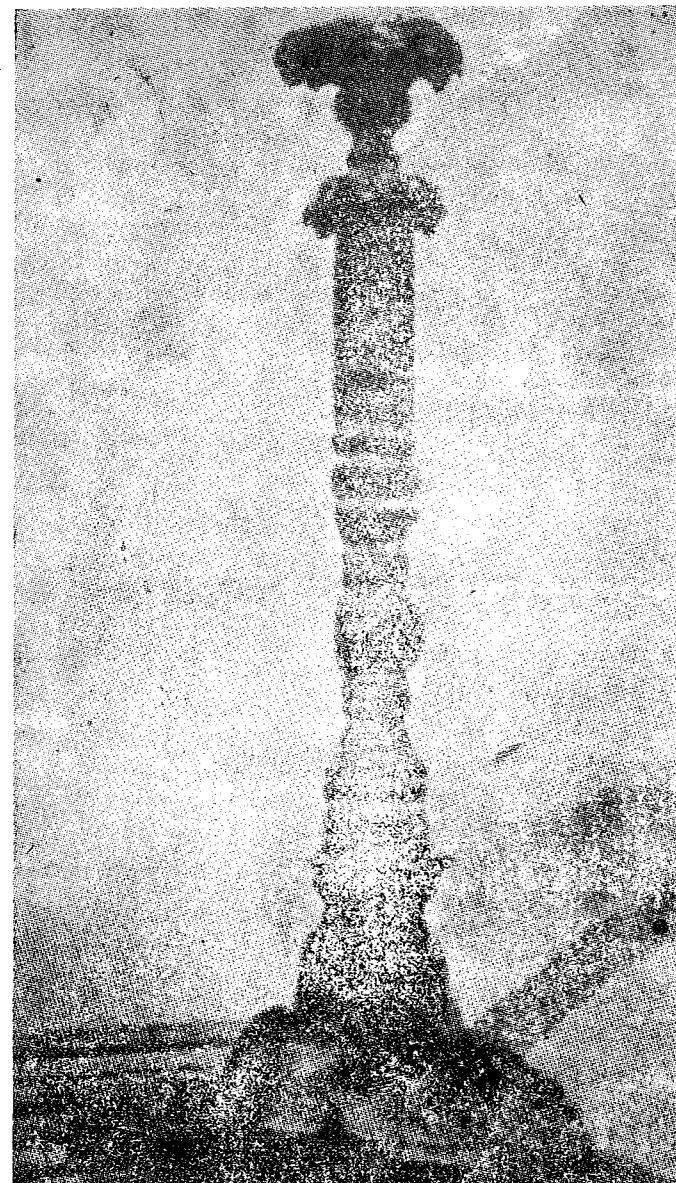
Those who are critical of Hassan, for having praised Gulab Singh or Ranbir Singh are as much mistaken. Hassan has been fair to his trade and has provided fair criticism to the kings under whom he lived most of his life. He could speak the truth by writing to Maharaja Ranbir Singh, against Wazir Punoo who had reduced Kashmiris to an abject condition. Hassan might have been provoked by Diwan Anant Ram to write a book on the geography of Kashmir, but he had the talent and capacity to work in an isolation at Arhama and Manigam Tehsil Ganderbal to compile a work of higher value and magnitude. At Manigam, he had a one storeyed hut prepared, in which he lived and worked for his manuscript.

"The function of the historian is", says E.H. Carr, "neither to love the past nor to emancipate himself from the past, but to master and understand it as the key to the understanding of the present."⁶⁷ Hassan learns from the past by mastering through the understanding of its scriptures written by the earlier chroniclers. After mastering and understanding it he finds himself entirely among the villagers, which even Sir Walter Lawrence accepts in his book "The Valley of Kashmir." His understanding of History lies in the fact of his planning the history itself.

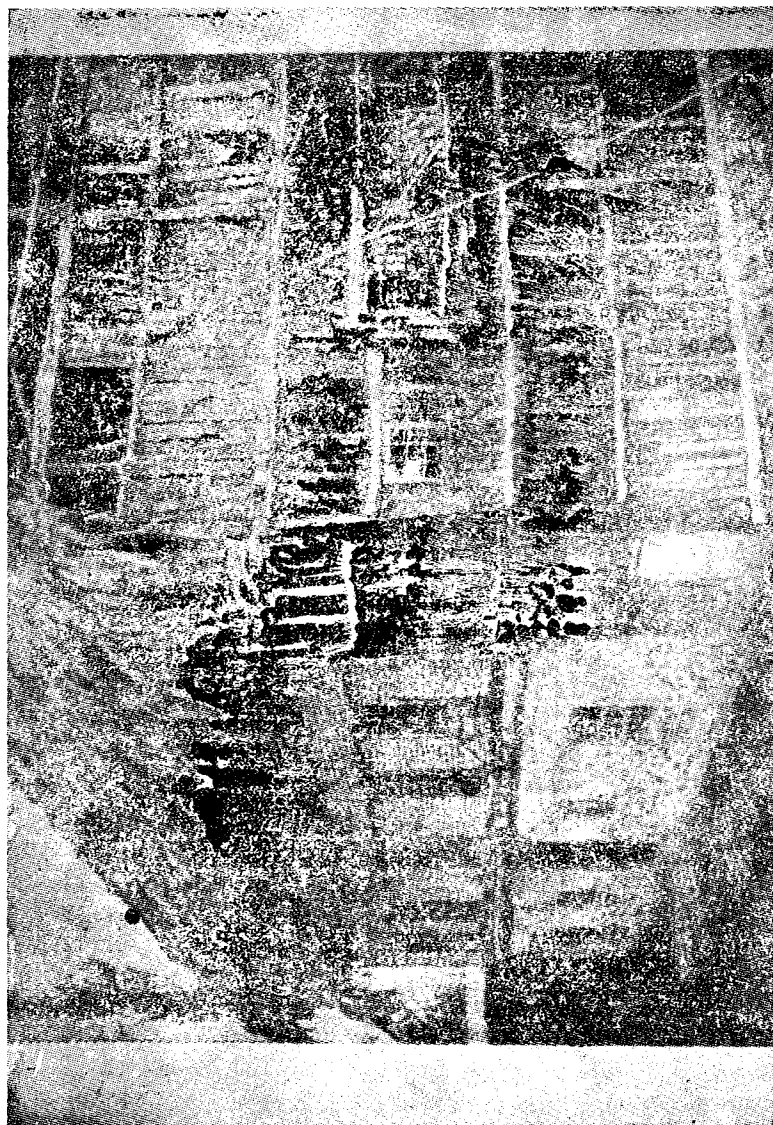
In the understanding of history, he first tried to understand the geography of his country. The first volume opens with a brief introduction followed by a discussion on physical and regional geography. Before I comment on geography it is necessary to analyze his introduction to the volume, which

66. Shiraza, *Hassan Number*, Jammu & Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, 1971, p. 28.

67. E H. Carr, *What is History*, Alfrerd, A. Knoph, Inc. New York, 1962, p. 29.



Candlestick used by Hassan. By Courtesy of Academy of Art, Culture and Languages Srinagar.



Hassan's house built by his father Ghulam Rasool Sheva and demolished on October 1, 1960

in essence is the introduction to his whole works. Hassan believed in Islam, and as the follower of Allah, Muhammad and the holy book 'the Quran', he was initiated into the Naqshabandi order of Muslim mystics by Khawaja Muhammad Tasnkandi. Consequently, he believed in the theory of Divine origin of the state. There is ample proof in the introduction of the first part to explain the contention. According to him worthy of praise is that power that decorates the world and everything in it. Quoting the holy book 'the Quran' he refers to :—

"Say, O Lord, Master of the Kingdom, Thou wilt give the kingdom unto whom Thou wilt please and take off the kingdom from whom Thou wilt please and exalt from Thou wilt please and humble down whom Thou wilt please."⁶⁸

Thus, for Hassan, He is the creator and the destroyer of a kingdom. Consequently, history to him is the continuous process of the Lord's creation, in which kingdoms fall and rise. He further quotes :—

"Whose kingdom is today ? God's the one, the Dominant"⁶⁹ and "His is the kingdom and His are the highest praises and He is the appointer of the destinations of all things".⁷⁰

While believing that the kingdom of the world is the kingdom of God, Hassan praises God who gives him the power to write and edit about those on whom God conferred the right of Khilafat onto men. He quotes :

68. *Al-quran*, Al-Imran, verse 27, trns. Mohd Abdul Hakim Khan, Patiala, 1905.

69. *Ibid.*, Almumin, verse 17.

70. *Ibid.*, Tagabun, verse 1.

"And when thy Lord said unto the angel. I am going to make a Viceroy on the earth."⁷¹

To Hassan, as believer in Islam, land and the sea and the universe is bestowed on men by God and consequently he quotes the Quran :

"Verily we honoured the children of Adam and provided them with conveyances in the land and the sea and bestowed upon them good things and exalted them over most of what we have created, with a marked distinction."⁷²

Thus Hassan after accepting that no argument is needed to prove the existence of God—His existence being undeniable he treats and provides Him to be the Creator of all kingdoms through the verses of the holy book 'the Quran', quoted above. Then Hassan as believer chants praises in favour of Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) and in doing so he again quotes the Quran to substantiate and augment his adoration for him. In his devotion to Prophet, Hassan quotes the Quran, "We have not sent thee but a mercy unto the creatures."⁷³ The Prophet is as messenger and is the blessing from God on humanity. Bestowing all adjectives on the Prophet in terms of the Quran, Hassan praises the founder of the order of Naqshbandi. Finally, in its introduction, he is praise for his Pir for whom he quotes the Quran,

"Behold, the friends of God are those upon whom no fear cometh nor they become grieved, who believe in God and lead a pious life."⁷⁴

71. Ibid., Albaqar, verse 30.

72. Ibid., Bani-Israel, verse, 70.

73. Ibid., Al-ambia, verse 107.

74. Ibid., Yonis. verses 61-62

Thus he belongs to a set order or Muslims whom he considers to be the order of faith. From his Pir through his order of Naqshbandi he traces his path of faith to God. He is convinced that this order is the order for his salvation. Some may believe it or may not but his belief is not singular—he follows most of his people and the trends of his time. Assuredly, Hassan is an intellectual who does not emancipate himself from the past. What he does is that he understands the past for understanding the present.

Hassan, after the introduction, initiates a discussion on the geography of Kashmir. According to Sahibzada Hassan, these chapters on geography of Kashmir, "are based on some cheap text books and there is hardly anything of interest for a modern reader."⁷⁵ However, he admits that this volume is exclusively devoted to the geography and has wealth of details and is interesting. True that Hassan's geographical work may not be as significant as that of Fredrick Drew or Sir Aurel Stein's works but the whole account is a contribution to the knowledge of his own people. His details are very interesting and self-revealing. Whatever the worth of the volume, the basic fact remains that enough data is available. It is worth the future comparative study that will reveal what good things we loose and what we maintain from the past.

For example, it is to be determined by our future agriculturists whether the fauna and flora that Hassan provides is retained and improved by us or is destroyed. Hassan's greatness in this volume lies in the fact that he brings down to us a detailed account of flora and fauna, archaeological remains and monuments. Ethnographical notes and descriptions of natural calamities are very significant contributions to the knowledge of posterity.

75. Sahibzada Hassan, *Introduction to Tariekh-i-Hassan*, Government Press, p. 5.

His approach in describing the geography of Kashmir is very appropriate. He briefly provides us a description of the continents of Europe, America, Asia and Africa. After the data about the world population he explains the altitudes, latitudes and characteristics of Kashmir geography. Consequently, his description of winds, atmospheric constituents, hills, mountains and karevas of Kashmir is full of data. He further explains the geology of the land of Kashmir. His datas of lithosphere, rocks, and minerals throw enough light on the valley. Volcanic eruptions, earthquakes, plains, lakes, rivers, glaciers and ponds of Kashmir are discussed by him. Trees, plants, fruits and jungles are described by him. Birds and their different species in detail are provided by him. Finally, he explains in detail in the volume various religions known to the people, tribes, clans, languages, mosques, temples and other related matters that either affect our geography or geography of our land affects us as a nation.

The volume second is the main chronicle, which details out the accounts of the kings and queens from the dawn of history of Kashmir. Hassan quotes the same verse of the Quran which he refers in the volume I. It says,

"Say, O Lord, Master of the Kingdom, thou wilt give the kingdom unto whom Thou Wilt please and take off the kingdom from whom thou wilt please and exalt whom Thou wilt please."⁷⁶

Thus Hassan moves to describe the creation of the universe and its contradictory positions held by various religions thinkers. Both its creations and its age is debatable and undetermined under his discussion. But as referred to earlier his personal outlook being the theory of divine origin of the universe and the state, he accordingly examines it in the

76. *Al-quran*, Al-Imran, verse 27.

same light. Then he initiates describing the Kings who ruled Kashmir from the dawn of its history to the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. The work on first volume started by the historiographer was 1301 A.H., and one year after he started working on the 2nd volume both were completed in 1314 A.H.⁷⁷

In the first book of the second volume he provides an account of four kings and in the next he has twenty two kings of Pandavas to describe. The third book including Hazrati Suliman or King Solomon has twenty eight kings to account for. The fourth book starts with the king Gonada III and provides the sketch of the reign of twenty eight kings. In the fifth and sixth books, there are thirty three kings discussed by the author, sixteen of them belonging to Kar-kotas. In the fifth book he additionally included some account of Vikaramaditya who ruled India including Kashmir. The books 7th, 8th and 9th discuss forty seven kings but additionally Mahmud Ghazni is also discussed who ruled India but visited Kashmir while pursuing Trilochan from Lahore. Then the Sultanate starts with the poor struggle ensued by Rinchana Shah in his favour and Hassan describes twenty eight kings including two non-Muslims one of whom later embraced Islam and excluding Amir Tamur who ruled Persia and India and made Sikandar, the Kashmir king to pay allegiance toward him. In other books, Hassan provides the account of as many as one hundred twenty kings, who either were Persian or Afghans and Moghals. Later Sikhs ruled Kashmir who relinquished their reign over Kashmir to Dogras. In the book 14th, however, he provides an account of British viceroys in India and in its final book he engages himself recording the events during Dogra rulers.

77. Shiraza, Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, *Hassan Number*, 1971, p. 104.

The third volume was initiated in 1305 A.H. however, completed in the same year as first two volumes.⁷⁸ It deals with the accounts of great Syeds, Rishis, Seers, Scholars and handicapped saints. The last two chapters of the chronicle provide the information regarding sacred relics, things and places in addition to the Persian poets. Assuredly, the volume is very interesting and thought provoking, for it is full of details of miracles and spiritual values of great seers and saints. The volume reflects his allegiance to the order of Suharwardhy, whereby the respect for seers and saints is acclaimed. It further adds, in the language of Romi, a great poet-seer of Persia, Hassan's sentiment to the cause of seers, saints and Rishes, which he puts at the beginning of the third volume:

یک زمانہ صحبت با اولیاء بہتر از صد سالہ طاعت ہے ریا
گر تو نگ خوارہ سر مرثوی چون بجا خدائی کی گوہر شوی

The last volume deals with the Persian poets of Kashmir. Persian language was the court language of Kashmir and it flourished under the Mughals (1586-1752) and during this period we find a galaxy of Kashmiris making their contribution to Persian language. Nonetheless, the Persian language continued to be the instrument of cultural ethos uptill the reign of Pratap Singh (1885-1925). P.N. Pushp writing about Hassan says, "Hassan's calibre as historian or a researcher is certainly not of a very high order, for he generally incorporates the earlier works almost verbatim. On occasions he changes just the finite verb, or at the most, an epithet or two; and this tendency of his abnoxiously apparent in the present volume⁷⁹ which borrows too freely from Diddamari (1747) to the extent of blatant plagiarism."⁸⁰ This is unfair to the

78. Ibid.

79. Tariekh-i-Hassan, vol. IV, Persian Poets in Kashmir.

80. Ibid. Research Department, Government Press, p. 13.

historiographer. If the learned scholar had thoroughly worked, he would have been able to note that Hassan never claims to be author of the history. He claims, instead to be the editor (Maulif) of the book. Interestingly, editing, not only exonerates the author but also explains the working of the mind of the scholar. He is interested in bringing down to us a chronology that is continuous and factual. He is not a researcher of our time as we are not the researchers of the Western type. He represents his own time and uses such tools in the preparation of his work which were in vogue during that time. Hassan is honest while editing his works. He provides us the sources of his work. The sources he brings to us are brought to the notice of my readers in the language presented by Sahibzada Hassan with minor modifications:—⁸¹

Waqia-i-Kashmir: Allama Ahmed:

——— It is from this book that he has taken the account of the thirty five kings missing in Kalhana's chronicle as also the kings who reigned before and after Ranaditya.⁸²

Waqia-i-Kashmir: Khawaja Muhammad Azam Didamari (1765 A.D.). It is a short history of Kashmir in Persian and besides political history, gives a brief account of Muslim mystics and poets of Kashmir. It has been a popular source of information for later writers, (C.F. Hadaiq-ul-Hanfia, Tazkira-i-Ulma-i-Hind, Tariekh-i-Gauhar-i-Alam, etc.) Its manuscripts are found in all the main manuscript collections in India and England. It has been lithographed by Messers Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd, Publishers, Srinagar under the guidance of the last Persian chronicler of Kashmir, Mufti Mohd Shah Saadat (D. 1952 A.D.) An

81. Ibid., pp. 6-99.

82. Referred to earlier in the same chapter.

earlier edition appeared in 1886 at Lahore. Urdu translation of this work by Munshi Ashraf Ali of Delhi college was published in 1846 A.D. in Delhi.

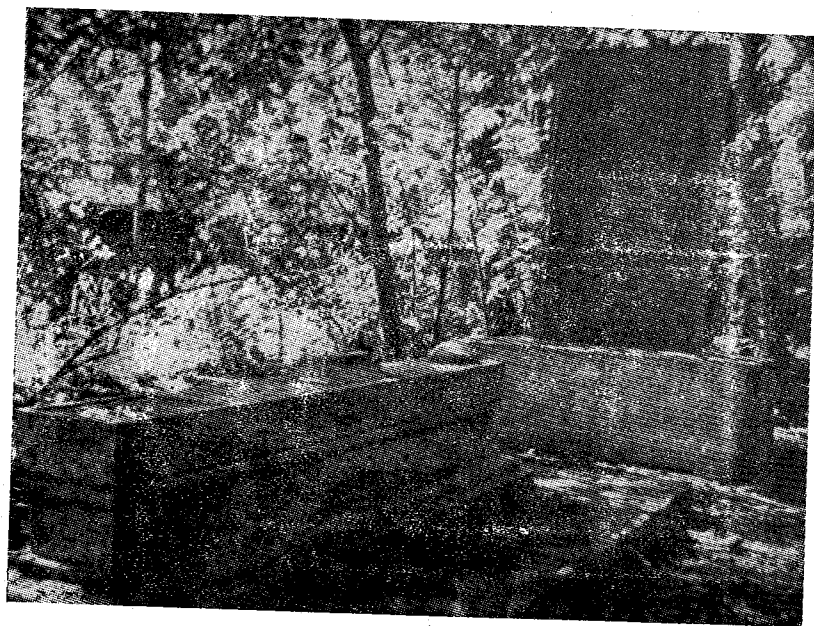
Baharistan-i-Shahi : It is one of the earliest histories of Kashmir in Persian by an anonymous author. Popular tradition believes his name to have been Mirza Mehdi. The book is exceedingly rare. The Department of Research and Libraries secured its microfilm copies from India Office Library and British Museum London.

Tariekh-i-Malik Haider Chadura : The author of this book Rais-ul-Mulk Haider Malik Chadura accompanied his master Yusuf Khan son of Hussain Shah Chak Sultan of Kashmir (1563-1579 A.D.) and not Yusuf Shah Chak the penultimate Sultan of Kashmir as alleged by Rieu and after him by Professor Storey⁸³ to Bengal and later on rose in favour of Nur-ud-din Jehangir and became a Governor of Kashmir. It is a sort of his family annal in Persian but contains important contemporary evidence for Mughal invasion of Kashmir. He gives an eye witness account of the murder of Sher Afgan, and of the way he escorted Mehr-u-Nisa to the court and won the favour of the Emperor. The last event recorded in this book is dated 1619 A.D. but the book has not been published so far. The micro-film copies of it were secured by the Research and Library Department from the India Office Library and the British Museum as early as 1954. *Nizam-ul-Waqia* or *Waqia-Nizamia* by Mulla Muhammad Nizam-ud-din son of Sheikh-ul-Islam Mulla Qawwam-u-din. It is a supplement of *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* by Muhammad Azam and brings down the account to the time of Diwan Kripa Ram, the Sikh Governor (1827-1831 A.D.), The author of this book died in 1824 A. D.

83. Rieu's Catalogue vol. I, p. 297. b, Persian literature by C.A. Storey, p. 680 and manuscript of *Tariekh-i-Malik Haider* Research Library, Srinagar, Folio 42.



Pir Abdul Qadeer fazili, Pir Ghulam Ahmad fazili and anther standing near the grave of Hassan at Mir Ded Saeed Gamroo, Bandipur



Hassan's grave and Sepulchre
Photo : Itrat Rafiqi

Tarikh-i-Mulvi Hidayat Ullah Mattoo: This is an earlier supplement of *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* upto the reign of Juma Khan the Afgan Governor of Kashmir (1787 to 1793 A.D.). The author died in 1761 A.D. The book is quite rare now.

Tarrkh-i-Shahnamah-Muhammad Taufiq, Sami and Shayaq: In imitation of Mahmud Ghazni, Diwan Sukh Jiwan the Governor of Kashmir (D. 1765 A.D.) entrusted the work of writing a *Shahnamah* of Kashmir to seven of the contemporary poets namely Sami, Nawid, Rahaj, Matin, Hassan, Taufiq and Shayaq, the last was entrusted with writing a history of saints. The project fell through due to the death of the Diwan.

Tehqiqat-i-Amiri-by Amir-ud-din Pakhliwal—1865 A.D It is an adaptation of *Waqiat-i-Kashmir*, *Waqiat-i-Nizamia* and *Lubbut* — *Tawarikh-i-Baha-ud-Din Khushnawis* and brings down the account to 1828 A.D.

Lubb-ut-Twarikh-i-Baha-ud-Din: It is a short history of Kashmir in Persian from the earliest times to 1828. The book is divided into three parts. Part I and II deal with the geography and political history of Kashmir and part III with Muslim saints and mystics.

Bagh-i-Suleiman: It is a history of Kashmir in Persian verse compiled by Mir Saad-Ullah Shahabadi of Kashmir and brings down the account to the reign of Juma Khan (1787-1793 A.D.) It gives an account of prices as well as the saints and mainly follows *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* by Muhammad Azam Dedamari.

Wajiz-ul-Tawarikh by Mulla Ab-un-Nabi: It is a short history of Kashmir in Persian upto the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh with a short account of Muslim saints. A manuscript copy of it exists with Research Library J & K Government Srinagar.

Tarikh-i-Hadi by Muhammad Nayat: It has not been possible for Sahibzada Hassan to locate it.

Panj Masnawi: It is a collection of five Masnawis in Persian in praise of Kashmir by Slaim 1647 A.D., Kalim 1652 A.D. Khisali (Harawi Circa 17th century A.D., Mir Elahi 1653 A.D. and Ahsan 1663 A.D. Pir Ghulam Hassan's own copy of these poems has been acquired by the Department of Research and Libraries).

Gulzar-i-Kashmir by Diwan Kripa Ram, Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir in the days of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. This is a history of Kashmir in Persian from the earliest times to 1857 and was compiled by the author at the instance of Mr. Roberts, Judicial Commissioner of the Punjab. It is mainly based on Rajatarngini, *Tarikh-i-Malik Naider Chadura*, *Tarikh-i-Narayan Koul Ajiz* and *Tarikh-i-Birbal Kachru*. It contains very interesting appendices on products, arts and crafts and various trades of Kashmir and was lithographed in 1871 A.D.

Gulab Nama by the same author is a court history of Maharaja Gulab Singh (1846-57 A.D.) The founder of the last ruling dynasty of Jammu and Kashmir State. The book has been written after the model of Abdul Fazl's *Akbarnamah* and shares its virtues and vices. It is written in high flown Persian in imitation of the style of Abdul Fazl. It traces the origin and history of the Dogra rulers from the most ancient times and brings down the account of the close Maharaja Gulab Singh's career. It seems to be based mainly on Raj Baddarah Darshani⁸⁴ a history of Jammu in Persian by

84. An incomplete copy exists in the Pratap Museum, Srinagar, and microfilm copy of its manuscript in India Office Library has been obtained by the Information Department of the State.

Ganesh Dass Baddarah Sadar Daftar-i-Diwani Jammu in the beginning of the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh though the author does not acknowledge it.

Muntakhab-ul-Twarikh by Pt. Narayan Koul Ajiz: It is a short history of Kashmir from the earliest times undertaken by the author at the instance of Arif Khan, the Mughal Governor of Kashmir in 1710-11 A.D. The author compared Malik Naider's flored and diffused translation with the Sanskrit originals collected by Arif Khan, and prepared and abridgement in simple style. Microfilm copies of it have been recieved in the Department of Research and Libraries from British collections.

Majmauah-i-Twarikh by Birbal Kachru is comparatively a later work in Persian and brings down the account to 1835 A.D. It is useful for the history of the early Sikh rule in Kashmir.

"Kashmir Hand book" by J. Ince in English primarily meant to be a guide for visitors, published for the first time in 1868 A.D. It contains a brief note on the history of Kashmir and describes mainly the routes leading to Kashmir from the Punjab, from Srinagar to Gilgit and Ladakh, as well as description of the flora and fauna.

"Northern Barrier of India" by Fredrick Drew in English is a popular accout of Jammu and Kashmir territories published by Edward Stanford, London in 1877 A.D. It is a selection from same author's more detailed work, "The Jamm and Kashmir Territories" published by the same firm in 1875 A.D. It describes the physical conditions of the country, the language, faith and manners of the people contemporary political organisation and main routes of the Sate.

Tarikhi-Frishta by Mirza Haider Dughlat Kashgahri is the famous history in Persian of the Turks of Central Asia. It has been translated into English by N. Elias and E D. Ross and

published by Sanison Low Marston and Co., London in 1895 A.D. It contains useful information about Sultan Said's expedition against Ladakh, Kashmir and Tibet in 1532 A.D., Haider's conquest of Kashmir in 1541 A.D., and the conditions prevailing here in the last days of Independent Kashmir.

Guldast-i- Kashmir by Hargopal Khasta is a brief history of Kashmir in Urdu. It was lithographed in 1883 A.D. in Lahore. It is a partial and unauthentic work.

Jam-i-Jehan Numa: There are two books of this title in Persian noticed by Elliot and Dawson. The one is by Muzaffar Hussain and the other by Qudrat Ullah. In the latter there is a section on Kashmir. It is probably this latter work to which our author refers.⁸⁵

The author cites the following works of minor importance also in his sources :—

(1) Qasis-ul-Hind: Tales from India History in Urdu, Part I by Pyare Lal and Part II by M. Muhammad Hussain Afzal. The Book was printed at Lahore in 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1877, 1878 and 1884 A.D. and 1894 A.D.⁸⁶

(2) Waqiat-i-Hind : There are three books of the same title detailed below:—

(a) Waqiet-i-Hind in Urdu by Ram Chand and Zai-ud-din. The book was printed in 1863 and 1865 A.D. in Lahore.

85. History of India, Elliot and Dawson, vol. III pp. 15, 184.

86. India Office Library Catalogue, vol. II, Part II, p 147 and British Museum Catalogue of Hindustani books, pp. 228-289.

(b) Waqiat-i-Hind in Urdu by Ram Chandra Sen and Hanuman Prasad. It was printed in 1866 A.D. in Lucknow.

(c) Waqiat-i-Hind in Urdu by Karim-ud-Din 17 editions of this book were printed in Lahore, Lucknow and Delhi during 1868-1889 A.D.

All these books are school text books on History of India and are of no importance.⁸⁷

(3) Khirad Afroz by Hafiz-ud-Din Ahmed: It is an Urdu translation of "Ayyar Danish" by Abul Fazl Ailami. An edition of its text carefully revised with critical and explanatory notes by E.B. Eastwick was published by Hertford in 1857 A.D. The text was originally published in Calculata in 1805 A.D. "Ayyar Danish" is modernised version of "Kalila wa Dimnah" of Hussain Waiz. It is based on Panchtantra. The book has no historical importance except for examples and similies quoted here and there in the present work.⁸⁸

(4) World Geography by Anderson entitled "Modern Geography for the Use of Schools", 6th edition, reprinted in London in 1860 A.D.⁸⁹

(5) Miftah-ul-Arz by Karim-ud-Din is a geography of the world. It was revised by Pyare Lal. Sixteen editions of the book published from Lahore including one from Lucknow during 1868-79 A.D.⁹⁰

87. India Office Library, Catalogue, vol, II, Part II, p. 92 and British Museum Catalogue of Hindustani books p. 162.

88. India Office Library, Catalogue, vol. II Part II, p. 143, British Museum Suppl. Catalogue of Hindustani books, pp. 26-27.

89. Punjab Public Library classified catalogue vol. I, p. 209.

90. India Office Library Catalogue, vol. II, p. Part II. 81.

Both book Nos. 4 and 5 noted above appear to be the source of our author for the portions of volume I of the present work. These are not standard books but mere school level text books on geography.

(6) Naikha-ul-Twarikh: It has not been possible for Sahibzada Hassan to locate this book. A book with this title has, however, been noticed by Professor C.A. Storey who ascribes the authorship to M. Taqi. Sipahr Kashani the Royal Panegyrist of Muhammad Shah Qajar of Iran,⁹¹ (1834-1848 A.D.) It is a general history of little value except for contemporary history published in 14 volumes and extending to 1851 A.D. with a later continuation to 1857 A.D. the part relating to the Qajars having the subtitle Tarikh-i-Qajariyay.

(7) Waqiat-i-Durrani by Mir Waris Ali Saifi was printed at Kanpur in 1875 A.D. It is an Urdu translation of Tarikh-i-Ahmed by Abdul Karim which is a history of the reign of Ahmed Shah, Timur Shah and Zaman Shah to 1797 A.D. and contains a brief sketch of the beginning of the first Afghan war.⁹²

(8) Ranjit Nama by Kanhayya Lal is history of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in Persian verse. It is also known as Zafar Nama-i-Ranjit Singh. It was published in Lahore in 1876 A.D.⁹³

Volume III is entitled Asrar-ul-Akhyar or "the secrets of the Pious" and gives an account of the Muslim saints and mystics of Kashmir. In the introduction of this volume the author has cited the following authorities:—

91. Persian Literature by C.A. Storey, p. 153.

92. Ibid., p. 403.

93. Ibid., p. 675.

(i) Waqiat-i-Kashmir by Allama Ahmed.

(ii) Asrar-ul-Abrar by Baba Daud Mishkawti (1865 A.D.). It is one of the earliest Tazkiras in Persian based according to the author on original sources in Persian and Kashmir. It notices especially the Rishi order of Muslim mystics of Kashmir which owes its origin to Sheikh-ul-Alam, Sheikh Nur-ud-Din Wali Alamdar-i-Kashmir of Charar-i-Sharif, Kashmir (1417 A.D.). A study of this order reveals an interesting fusion of Buddhist Shaivist and Islamic mysticism in Kashmir. It has not been published. Its two copies exist in Research and Publication Department Srinagar. Both are dated 1763 A.D. It was compiled in 1655 A.D.

(iii) Waqiat-i-Kashmir by Khawaja Muhammad Azam Dedamari.

(iv) Fatuhat-i-Kuberwia by Abdul Wahab Nuri (1768 A.D.) This is a Tazkira in Persian of the Kuberawi order of Muslim mystics both Kashmiri and Iranian and draws mostly upon "Asrar-ul-Abrar."

(v) Fatuhat-i-Qadiriya in Persian by Mir Syed Muhammad Hussain Qadiri Mantaqi (1882 A.D.) It deals with the Adiriya order of Muslim mystics and notices Kashmiri, Indian and Iranian saints. It was compiled in 1867 A.D.

(vi) Dastur-u-Salikeen also known as "Sharh-i-Wirdul Murideen" in Persian by Sheikh Baba Daud Khaki (1585 A.D.) is a commentary on his own panegyric in honour of his spiritual preceptor Mukhdum Sheikh Hamza. The book refers to many contemporary and ancient saints and mystics and to the prevalent mystic practices. It was lithographed by M/s Ghulam

Mohammud Noor Mohd Publishers, Srinagar, in 1937 A.D. It has also been translated into Kashmiri by Pir Ghulam Muhammad Shah Shayaq, and published by the same publishers under the title of "Zikar-ul-Wasleen" in 1946 A.D.

- (vii) Khawariq-us-Salikeen also known as "Tarikh-i-Hadi" by Ahmed Bin Assabur Kashmiri compiled in 1697 A.D. is a Tazkira in Persian of Kashmiri Muslim saints and mystics.
- (viii) Tarikh-i-Shayaq by Abdul Wahab Shayaq is a part of Diwan Sukh Jiwan's Shahnama of Kashmir noticed above.
- (ix) Tarikh-i-Bagh Suluiman by Mir Saad-Ullah Shahabadi.
- (x) Waqia-i-Nizamia by Mulla Nizam-ud-Din.
- (xi) Khamsa-i-Baba-ud-Din by Mulla Bahauddin Mattoo (1832 A.D.)

It is the collection of the following Masnavis in Persian :

- (a) Sultania on the life of Makhdum Sheikh Hamza.
- (b) Naqshbandia
- (c) Qadiriya
- (d) Chastiya
- (e) Reshinama
- (xii) Tahqiqat-i-Amri by Amir-ud-Din Pakhliwal.
- (xiii) Majmua-i-Sheva by Ghulam Rasul Sheva father of Hassan.

A family copy of it bearing the seal of our author's brother Ghulam Ahmed Jayyad (1908 A.D.) a poet of repute and author of 'Khilafatnama' in Persian verse was available with Late M. Muhammad Sulaiman and presently with his eldest son Molvi Mohd Afzal, Gamroo Bandipur.⁹⁴

94 F. Notes from 80-90 are notes referred to by Sahibzada Hsasan Shah in his introduction to Tariekh-i-Hassan, published by Research and Publication Department, J & K Government, Srinagar.

The sources in the language borrowed by me from Sahibzada Hassan reveal a devastating reply to those who due Hassan as having committed plagiarism. He edits the history and provides the sources that he has relied on. Hassan is a nineteenth century historian and he required only facts to present to his posterity in which he has been successful. E. H. Carr says, "The nineteenth century was a great age for facts, 'What I want', said Mr. Gradgrind in Hard Times, is facts. facts alone are wanted in life."⁹⁵

Hassan is a teller, teller of facts about kings and queens, saints, seers, etc. He conveys the necessary factual information about poets and others which constitute the elites in the society. He provides the information on all aspects of human life in Kashmir. In the first volume he provides the data of a comprehensive census, altitudes, winds, seasons and other characteristics about Kashmir cosmology. It is his endeavour to bring forth the details about mountains, meadows, karevas, caves, stones, springs, groves, ravines, ponds, and other natural scenery of various parts of Kashmir. He is conscious to bring forth the various kinds of produce, whether medicinal herbs, food grains, fruit and vegetables or even forest products. Assuredly Hassan talks about flora, fauna, archaeological remains and monuments, ethnographical notes and descriptions of natural calamities which are a contribution to the knowledge of his posterity. On the basis of the information provided by him, a comparative study between his times and our times is possible at present. Consequently, his history is a contribution to the knowledge of the entire people of Kashmir. Similarly, his II, III and IV volumes provide us the information regarding past kings, queens, seers, saints and poets who, whether benevolent or tyrannical, whether right or wrong, had a contribution to make to the evolution of a society which we call Kashmiri and to which we owe allegiance.

95. E. H. Carr, *What is History* ? New York, Alfred, A. Knopf, 1964, p. 5.

Assuredly Hassan's History is a history that exalts Kashmir. He could understand the necessity of knowing the geographical, economic and social conditions of his people. Such a feeling was not present during the Sultanate and the Mughal periods of Indian History except with Abdul Fazl.⁹⁶ Professor Mohibul Hassan is of the opinion that the distinction in Hassan's History lies in its continuity and the record of all kings from ancient times till his date.

Hassan's sources are of two standards. Some of these sources have both academic and research value and others having little or no standard as compared to the former. With regard to the sources of the first volume (Geography) most of the commentators on Hassan believe that the sources he has referred are of very little value. Amongst these sources world geography by Anderson entitled, "Modern Geography for the use of schools," the sixth edition of the book was printed in London in 1860 A.D.⁹⁷ and Miftab-ul-Arz by Karim-ud-Din, revised by Pyarelal was published from Lahore and Lucknow during 1868-79 A. D.⁹⁸ Similarly, with regard to the second volume minor reference books are Qasis-ul-Hind, Waqiat-i-Hind (by three different authors with the same title) and so on. For the third volume he refers to some significant works and also to some minor works. With regard to the last volume, P.N. Pushp writes,

Hassan "noted with deep distress that in his day, poets had become rare like the proverbial *Huma*; while the atmosphere was reverberating with the cries of owls. The sketch of the information offered is, no doubt, symptomatic of Hassan's lack of resources other than those of Didamari's : but it does not detract from the intrinsic value of his contri-

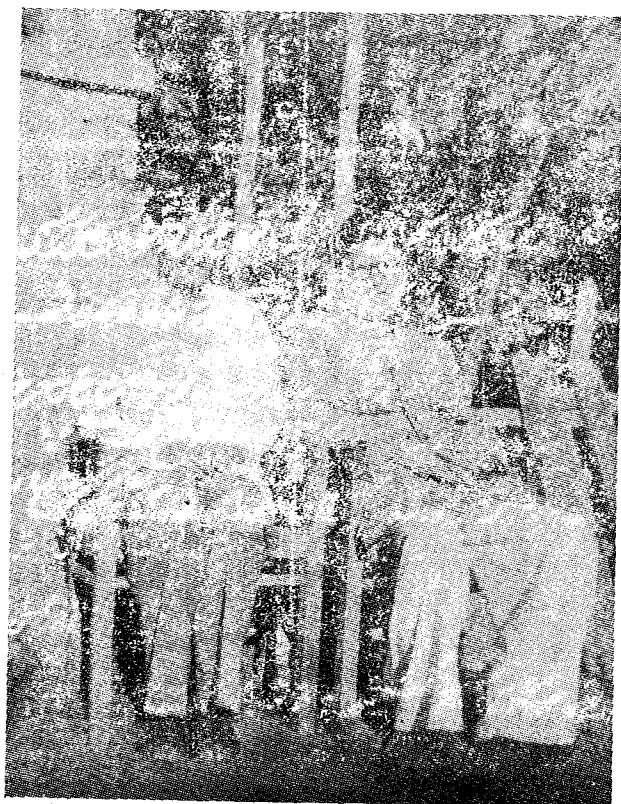
96. Prof. Mohibul Hassan, *Shiraza*, Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, *Hassan Number*, 1971, p. 8.

97. *Ibid.*, pp. 8-11.

98. *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, Sahibzada Hassan, Govt. Press, p. 15.



Pir Ghulam Hassan (Hakeem) and Author



The Author and Mr. Mohiuddin fazili

Photo : Itrat Rafiqi

bution : a readable compilation on the development of Persian verse in Kashmir.⁹⁹

99. *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, vol. IV, Persian Poets in Kashmir, Research and Publication Department, Srinagar Govt. Press, Srinagar, p. 15.

Hassan's Persian Language

Since the ascendancy of the benevolent king Zainulabidin Persian became the court language in Kashmir. With the advent of Islam, contacts with Persia, Khurasan, Samanid, Bukhara and other places developed. Hassan, referring to Rinchan, writes that the folk society in Kashmir desired a change in religion on account of religious intolerance and rancor. Consequently, Rinchan decided to accept the religion of the man whom he could see next morning on a particular day. When Rinchan witnessed Syed Sharief-ud-Din Bulbul offering Namaz on the other bank of the Jhelum (vitsta), he embraced Islam. His conversion naturally facilitated the spread of Islam in the State. Those days subjects usually embraced the religion of their king.¹⁰⁰ The conversions to Islam demanded more preachers, preceptors, clergymen and persons to visit Kashmir to educate new entrants to Islam. This consequently led more people from Persia to Kashmir and Persian language became the communication force in the hands of such preachers. With the spread of Islam, therefore, Persian replaced Sanskrit as the language of culture and administration. Zainulabidin, however, patronized the Persian language and got the Rajatarangini translated into Persian by Mulla Ahmed. He was liberal in his outlook to get the Vedas translated into the Persian language.¹⁰¹ Among

100. *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd. Publishers, Maharajgunj, Srinagar, Urdu, trans. by Mulla Ibrahim, 1957, pp. 148-49.

101. *Ibid.*, p. 178.

the Persian poets that flourished in the Sultans time were Montiqui, Nadimi, Fazili, Maliki, Jamil and Nadiri.

After Zainulabidin, Hussan Shah Chak (1563-70) encouraged the language and attracted poets. Yusuf Shah Chak also did not lag behind in improving and encouraging Persian language in Kashmir. However, most significant period of literary development of Persian in Kashmir is the Mughal period (1586-1752). In this period a galaxy of Kashmiris both prose and poetry writers emerged. Though Persian language had to face a decadence towards the decline of Mughal reign and during Pathan period, yet it did produce some notable poets. During Maharaja Ranbir Singh (1857-85) Persian language was given a lease of life by way of translations, adaptations and compilations in Persian from other languages, in particular from Sanskrit. P. N. Pushp writes, "Thus Persian lingered on as the language of cultural expression and administration down to the time of Maharaja Pratap Singh (1885-1925) when Urdu and English took over from it; and during the five centuries of its sway in Kashmir the rich language has produced over three hundred writers and more than a thousand (major and minor) works creative as well as useful and critical. Out of these Kashmir can well be proud of master pieces like the *Bahrul-Irfan* of Baba Daud Khaki and the *Panj-gunj* of Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi, besides the Ghazels of Gani, Salim, Joya, Azar and Taufiq and the narratives of Mushtaq, Dair, Shaiq and Hamid-ullah. The *Dabistan-e-Mazahib* of Fani, of course, is a unique classic."¹⁰²

Hassan represents mostly the age of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. While he was writing the history, he was in the employ of the Maharaja. While in childhood before his employment Hassan (during the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh) was educated in Persian language by his father. Both the Maharaja and the people continued and renewed the

102. *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, vol. IV, Persian Poets in Kashmir, Research Publications, Govt. of J & K, 1961, p. 11.

cause of Persian language. The language was treated as the only communication link between the court and the administrative staff. Further, the people treated it as a communication link between their preceptors and their religion. His father trained him for Persian and Arabic, so much so that he wrote not only the history in Persian language but even composed verses in Persian language. A specimen Persian verse is as under :¹⁰³

خدائی که اول ندارد در ا
در انجاء آخرت شاید و را
خدائی که امکان ندارد و تقییر
علیم و کلیم و وسیع و بصیر
خدائی که شد مبدع کائنات
وز و بزم آراست از ممکنات
خدائی که اورنگ کون و نمکان
بیک کاف کن کرد یکدم عیان

His father himself a good scholar of Persian and Arabic and greatly interested in Muslim mysticism, had literary talents. It is evident from his long poem entitled "Mujmua-i Sheva", in which Hassan's father not only traces the early history of his family but also throws light on the traditions of learning, piety in the family and in their social contacts.

Thus Persian language to Hassan is next to his mother tongue. It is the language of the intellectual in his times. It is the language of communication amongst the administration and amongst the elites. Consequently, Hassan reads it, speaks and writes in it. He has a style of his own in Persian. It is a poetic prose—it is fluent and clear. Symmetrical in essence. It has the capacity of communication. Persian prose is coloured with Hassan:—

اے ہمچکے بر صرافت خود نبود و اختلاف ثارب و تنوع
و تکرار ذایب بسیار داشت. از آنجمله بقتضای الناس علی دین
ملوک کینه در مذہب بہبود و تکرار و رواج بیشتر بود. و غیر ازین
مذہب مختلفہ مثل کھشتری و ویش و کایت پاری و ناگ پرست
و غیرہ بسیار مذقہ در اینجا سکونت میداشتند۔

It is picturesque and musical. Above all it is intimate. It touches the sentiments of a Kashmiri. It satisfies his ego and it maintains his personality. Consequently, Hassan's prose, is the embodiment of Kashmiri in prosaic form.

103. Shiraza, Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Hassan Number, 1971, p. 41.

THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN LIBRARIES

Hassan's Narration

What is true of Kalhana in terms of Stein is true of Hassan. The translator of Kalhana writes, "our brief review of Kalhana's personality has already given us occasion to notice the independence he shows in his judgement of contemporary history and its actors. He does not hide from us the errors and weaknesses of the king under whom he wrote."¹⁰⁴ The same fits Hassan, though under different circumstances. We have discussed the personality of Hassan knowing well that he belonged to a family which had a moral tradition to follow. He had to be an editor and not to be an author and he had the sense that he was the historian of bringing facts to the forefront. He was not a researcher of the modern type—he had not learnt to interpret and analyse facts. His narration is not what some believe it today as "brisk journalism".¹⁰⁵ In illustrating Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh, he maintains partisanship by giving certain adjectives to these despotic kings, yet explaining and presenting facts with regard to their governors through whom they ruled is devastating against the very kings. This is more of an intelligent narrator than a weak historian. Wherever Hassan has confronted irrationalities, he has presented different views without commenting or siding or in case he had to, he provides an epilogue to such irrationalities. While explaining the shrine of Baba Shakuruddin of Sherakote on the hill top on the Bandipur-Sopore Road near Watalab on one side and Ashtingoo on the

104. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, M. A. Stein, vol. I, p. 32.

105. Leon Edel, *The Art of Evasion (Twentieth Century Views)* p. 169.

other side he had to rely on facts rather than myths. In the epilogue he confronts the villagers reasonably about the explosion in the cave as a harbinger of natural calamity, but no evidence is available.¹⁰⁶

It is to the credit of Hassan that he presents to us the principal figures of his narrative in their individual character. To appreciate it we have enough to present or to compare the pictures he gives us of Muslim and non-Muslim kings. Whereas Raja Tara Paed is despotic, ruthless and tyrannical, Raja Lalita Paed is benevolent, merciful and kind to his subjects. In similar case amongst Muslims Zainulabidin as compared to Sikander iconoclast, who is alleged to have destroyed all the Hindu temples which were superb in their architectural designs. Hassan describes every king in his capacities of birth whether Low or high brows. He is neither partial to high-brows nor to low-brows—he is fair to all.

Hassan is an author of the nineteenth century and that too close to the end of the century. As a rule, the manuscript he left comes to us safely. At the same time he has been intelligent enough to ensure the safety of the chronicle by dedicating a copy of it under his seal to the Library of Khanqah-i-Mualla shrine, in Srinagar. It is still preserved in the Library but with no care. "Just two years before his death in 1314 A.H. he presented a manuscript of the present work to Khanqah-i-Mualla as waqf. The set bears his seal. It is this manuscript that has been followed by us. The authenticity of this manuscript is, therefore, unquestionable."¹⁰⁷ Consequently, the chronology is presented to us in the same form in which the author left it for us. It is in the same hand and bearing the seal of the author. The trustee to whom he

106. *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, vol. III, trns. Molvi Abraham, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd, Maharajgunj, Srinagar, pp. 154-155.

107. Sahibzada Hassan Shah, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, vol. I, Research and Publication, p. 20.

handed over the manuscript at the Khanqah was Shah Mohd Yousuf Hamadani.¹⁰⁸

There was no attempt in presenting the history to the public until 1954. Sahibzada Hassan admits that the printing of the book had been initially taken up by Archaeological Department of the government of Jammu and Kashmir. Later the separation of Research and publication from the Archaeological Department delayed its publication. On the assumption of charge of Research and Publication Department of Jammu and Kashmir, Sahibzada Hassan Shah took keen interest in the printing of the history. He embarked upon the stupendous task of compiling and editing the work. His long introduction to volume I is evidence of his dedication to the work. Personally I am fortunate enough of having worked with him and can easily admit that he had the honesty of purpose and impartiality. True as it is that he was the first to provoke me to research work while he was my Principal at the Amar Singh College Srinagar. Accordingly through his labour and the patronage of the Jammu and Kashmir Government the first volume of the history saw the light of the day in 1954. However, volume II, published later, bears no date of publication by the Research and Publication Department. The last volume was published in 1961, which deals with Persian poets in Kashmir.

When the government of Jammu and Kashmir, in post 1947 period, decided to publish the history of Hassan and the Research and Publication Department published the volume I in 1954, other publishers were encouraged to publish its translations. Consequential upon this tendency an Urdu translation of Hassan appeared in 1957, with an introduction by Sahibzada Hassan Shah. In his foreward Sahib-

108. Hassan, *Ay-jazi-Ghariba*, Mujadid Amritsar, published by Pir Mustafa Gamroo, Introduction by Darvesh Abdul Qadir, p. 5.

zada admits that the publishers insisted on his writing a foreward on account of his association with its publication in the Research and Publication Department. However, the two volumes II and III were translated by a retired Professor of Arabic from one of the colleges. Without discrediting the scholarship of the Professor, the translation has provoked very sharp criticism. It is irresponsible and irrelevant at many a place. Handing over my personal copy of volume III to Molvi Mohd Afzal Fazili, Gamroo for reading purposes, he wrote in return on the margin of page 36,

"The translator, while interpreting the verse, especially examining the underlined words, pains me. Allah may bestow on the translator the capacity of recognizing the greatness of Allah. The verse can be interpreted like this:

God whom you treat unsymbolic, exists in my heart and exists in the manner and style that He protects me against all ideas of evil."¹⁰⁹ Thus, not only the interpretations are disputed but even the translations are not upto the mark.

The translations of volume II and III are not only below standard even they seem opaque at many places. The volume III represents a very irresponsible and careless printing as well. The page marking is wrong and one gets lost in finding out a relevant portion. The volume II, having better printing, has many things missing against the original—footnotes provided in the history are missing in the translations. Many a time the words are not properly spelt. For example, Raja Khema Inder is spelt as "Khema Ind"—many more examples could be cited. The volume III in translations

109. Margin note of Molvi Afzal Fazili Gamroo, Bandipur on page 36, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, vol. III trans. by Molvi Abraham Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd Srinagar, possession of the author.

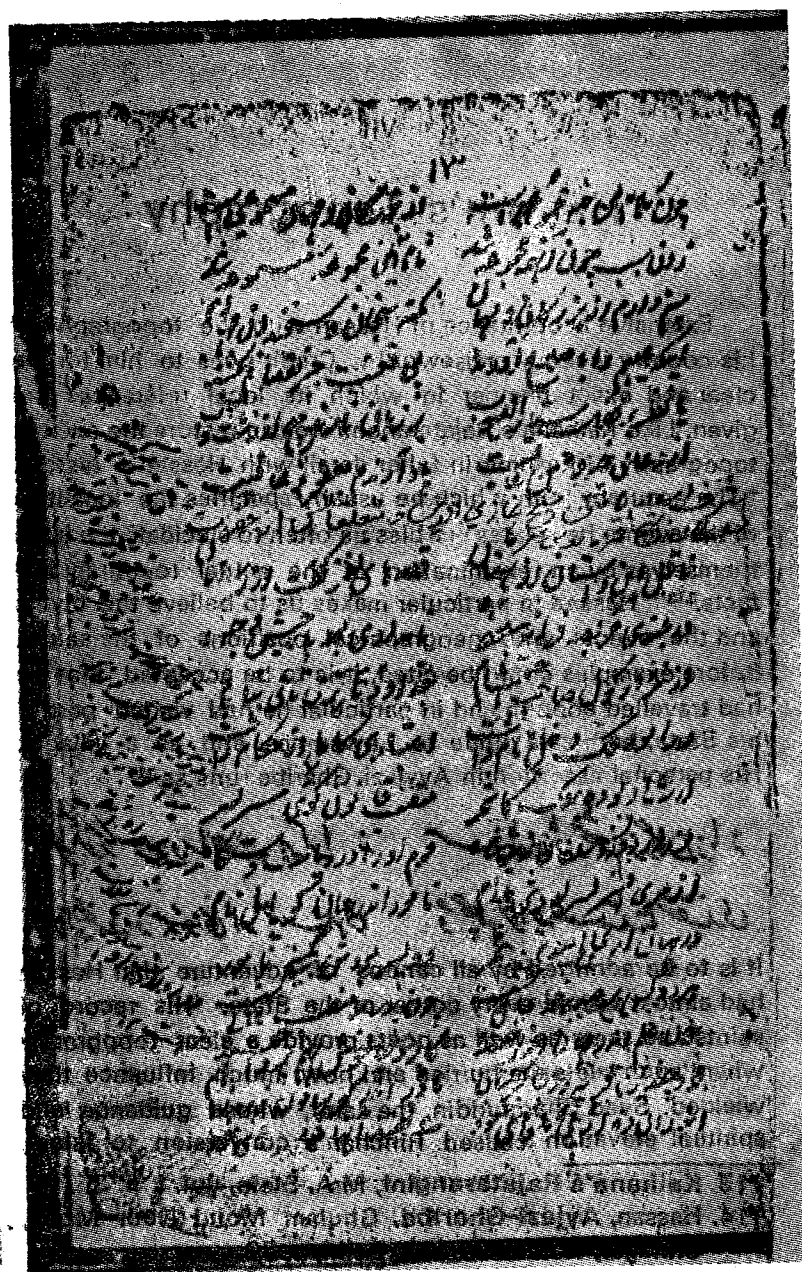
includes volume IV as well—Persian Poets in Kashmir, with many faults.

There are two critical assertions made by Sahibzada Hassan and P.N. Pushp with regard to the volume IV, Persian Poets in Kashmir. The first its brevity and second its verbatim copying from Didamari. By the year 1314 A.H., Hassan completed all the four volumes of the History. According to him the work on volume IV was initiated in the year 1305 A.H.,¹¹⁰ completing it in the year 1314 A.H.¹¹ Consequently, there should have been no hurry to be offered by the author, which he talks about in the introduction to the volume IV. It seems that Hassan, while writing the first volume was motivated by simplicity¹¹² and the second and 3rd volumes by depth and details. Naturally in the fourth volume he was in a hurry. Further, it is my personal contention that Hassan is writing a general introduction with the first volume, in which he discusses with elaboration the sources. Consequently, it covers all the four parts. Actually, his history is a continuous whole and each volume for us, means each chapter for Hassan. This is where Hassan is subject to be exonerated from plagiarism. At the same time it is to be noted that plagiarism does not mean borrowing facts.

110. *Tarikh-i Hassan*, Research and Publication Dept., J&K Government, vol. IV, p. 60.

111. Ibini-Mehjoor, Shiraza, *Hassan Number*, 1971, Chronological chart.

112. *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, Research and Publication Department, J&K Government, vol. I, p. 12.



A page from *Majmua Sheva Possession : M nzoor fazili*

Hassan's Topography

Extensive acquaintance of Hassan with the topography of his country is really praiseworthy. Credit goes to him for the clear and exact manner in which its local references are given. Like Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* we can restore the ancient topography of Kashmir in fuller detail with Hassan's history. "The accuracy with which he usually specifies the localities of the events he relates enables us often to elucidate the latter themselves by an examination of the actual topographical facts."¹¹³ Hassan in particular makes us to believe the myths and the events with geographical positions of the saints. Before examples could be cited, it is to be accepted that he had travelled enough and in particular he had visited part of his State, both as a guide to Lawrence and as a villager. His personal assertion in *Ayyazi-Ghariba* runs as.¹¹⁴

مہ کٹر سیر و بیاخت بر کرانہ سپہ شاہ دیکھم بزرگان زمانہ
ادانجہ ز روی ارجمندی وچیم خواجہ محمد تاشقندی

It is to be admitted by all canons of adventure that Hassan had almost visited every corner of the State. His record of saints and seers as well as poets provide a clear topography where such seers are buried and how much influence they wielded. Syed Sharafuddin, the saint, whose guidance and spiritual elevation caused Rinchan's conversion to Islam,

113. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, M.A. Stein, vol. I, p. 35.

114. Hassan, *Ayyazi-Ghariba*, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd, Srinagar, Naumani Press, Delhi, p. 70.

provides a topographical position of the palaces of the king Sahedev on the one side of Behatpur (Vitasta) or Jhelum (in modern context of nomenclature) and Khanqah-i-Bubbul on the other side of the same river. There is no change in the site of the Khanqah and the palace in the II and III volumes of his history,¹¹⁵ nor in the context of the present site of the Khanqah. Hassan has wonderful topographical sense in the third volume. Herein he has provided the life sketches of fourteen hundred and three (1403) Syeds, Rishis, seers, and scholars. He provides the place of burial of each such seer, which is verifiable even today. Besides those seers whose names or tombs are proverbial even the tombs of some unimportant men are easily verifiable.

VIII

Hassan's Poetic Genius

Hassan had the genius of the poet as well. An elaborate article on his Persian and Kashmiri poetry appeared in Shiraza, Hassan Number, in 1971. The article is written by Rashid Nazki, Department of Kashmiri, University of Kashmir. In the article he highlights that Hassan had inherited the quality of his being poet from his father, whose poetry is worth comparing with Nizami and Khaqani. Hassan's father, Ghulam Rasul Sheva, has come down to us as poet through his collection, Mujma-Sheva. A photostat copy of the collection is with the biographer of Hassan.¹¹⁶ The photostate is the copy of the Manuscript written and sealed by Ghulam Ahmed Jayyad, brother of the historian, presently the property of Molvi Mohd Afzal (Fazili), Gamroo Bandipur. The manuscript, in addition to the revelation of spiritual greatness of the members of the Fazilis before Ghulam Rasul Sheva, reflects also the spiritual linkages and family relations with other great seers and spiritualists of their Illaqa, like Rehman Shah of wonagam in Bandipur and others. Thus Sheva left the legacy of poetic talent to his two sons, Hassan and Ghulam Ahmad Jayyad. Jayyad wrote "khilafatnama" in Persian. He has sung Islamic history in verses and written hymns, psalms and didactic poetry.

Rashid Nazki is of the opinion that Hassan's environment, both natural and mental, influenced him to devote sometime to poetry though he did not get enough opportunity to pluck

115. Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, trns. Molvi Abraham, vol. II & III, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd, 1959, pp. 148 and 4 respectively.]

116. With the author of this book.

the fruits from the tree of the Muse. However, he has poetic compositions to his credit, in the following. Firstly, *Gulistan-i-Ikhilaaq*, the copy of which is available in the Research Library, University Library Building Srinagar. Its one incomplete moth eaten manuscript is with Mr. Rashid Nazki as well. This *Masanavi* is a satire on his society and his time. Hassan has sensibility and wit to depict his time and age. He is a poet in essence—he reacts. He uncovers the individual and social intricacies, in particular its contradictions. He talks about the social, moral, economic and other types of values and applies a critical eye to them, condemning some of them and upholding some others. He commits 'Gulistan-i-Ikhilaaq' to the same style and manner to which most of the *Masanvis* during his time were written down. Consequently, the book starts with hymns and introduction, *Nat* and *Miraj*. Some verses are produced here to provide specimens for his type of *Munajat*, *Nat* and *Miraj*¹¹⁷ in Persian:

مناجات

خدا شیکه اول ندارد ورا در انجاء آخر نشاید ورا
خدا شیکه امکان ندارد تفسیر علیم و کلیم سمیع و بصیر

نعت

محمد شهبشاه مالک رقاب رسالت آب و معنی رقاب
سرفراز و سردار دنیا و دین سروا کر عسکر مسلمین

معرّاج

شبیه کافقاز صحنی از طرب علم زد سر عرش در نیم شب
فرو جش سرتاج از ایتهاج عرو جش بمعرّاج با صدر و رواج

117. Rashid Nazki, "HASSAN KA SHAIRANA MUQAM", Shiraza, Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, 1971, pp. 38-54.

In the beginning of the Masnavi, Hassan starts as an analyst. He describes the world as constituted of three basic elements. Examining and detailing each variatal distribution, he exalts the human specie and accepts that he inherits in his nature some contradictions which he has to overcome through self-realisation and self-abnegation. Further specimens showing the variatal style of animals, he says :

از انچه شد خاص نخل ایچوان که با قسم حیوان شود وصل کن
نزداده در نخل خرا نگر که جز وصل نزاده ندید شر
نزداده از نخل باسے فراخ برویند بایم شود شاخ تراخ
چون از باد صحر صحر بچند شجر شوداده از وصل نر بارور
چو آن نخل خرا بجز وصل نر نه بختد مشر گشت حیوان اثر
چو مت از نباتات آن نخل نخل بجمیوان کند وصل از اخذ حمل

With regard to human specie, Hassan in quatable :--

بود نوع اول از ان سر بسر ز علم و ادب بهچو خبر بے خبر
بود نوع دوم از ان سان بهان که از عقل و تهذیب دارد نشان
بود نوع سوم ز افسر ادناس که باشد بزرگ بشر در لباس
گلزار ملائیک بهان بهتر است که در قرب حق دایما خوشتر است

Hassan's greatness lies not only in the historic or poetic works alone but his intellectualism within the Islamic framework is commendable. He talks of the Islamic value system and believes in it. Hassan talks of Islam, as he has inherited it—he is in Gulistan-i-Ikhlaq the same Musلمان, who

believes that its values be propogated to the society he belongs. His Persian poetry relates to such reflections on society that according to Rashid Nazki, it fits even to our social order at present:—

بود نوع اول از ان سر بسر ز علم و ادب بهچو خبر بے خبر
بعید از ادب با شقاوت قریب ز توحید از معرفت بے نصیب
از تهذیب اخلاق و حال معاد ز امروز بنی و ادب بے مراد
خو و خواب مثل بهائم کند شب و روز در عقلش بگذرد !
رذالت جبهالت منکالت کند بکالت کهالت کند
غرضش ز مال و سرورش ز جبه ظمهورش و بال عبورش بچاه
نه شوق از نعیم و نه ذوق از رجا نه خوف از مجیم و نه بیم از حکا

His examples in the following verses is a reflection not only on illiteracy and ignorance but on contradictions in social order during his time:

جوانی بدیدم ز قروی ز حال سرشت سرخوش از خوش نوش خیال
بد و گفتم لے نو جوان حسین سخن کلمه در پیش من از یقین
و گر گو خدا در خیال تو جدیت دگر گو رسول خدا نام کیدیت
بگفت که کلمه ندانم که جدیت و کیلن خدا را بلام که کیدیت
که در کعبه سنگین است خورشیدشان و راسخه سازند اهل جهمان

Rashid Nazki quotes two examples from his Persian work of Gulistan-i-Ikhlaq, one from his experience at Gurez and other at Tujar, in tehsil Sopore. In Gurez he confronts a

youth, we had no basic knowledge about his religion and in Tujar a youth having no manners to visit the shrine of his Pir Sheikh Mukhdum, instead insulted the shrine for whom Hassan had the highest regard. More humiliating and ignorant was the reply to Hassan in Gurez as the youth conveyed that the basic knowledge of his religion is supposed to be known to their "Jeshteer" (i.e. Nambardar) or the elderman of the village.¹¹⁸

Hassan is a poet and knows the art of poetry within limitation. He reacts to social prejudices and inequalities. While his Persian work is the application of Islamic value structure to his time—he is satirical towards those whom he thought to be acting anti-Islamic. However, this Masnavi of Hassan is nearly fifty two pages hand written manuscript and has more than eight hundred verses. The book is still unpublished.

Hassan composed in Kashmiri what is called the poetry of Ayjaz-i-Ghariba. A long poem in Kashmiri describing the miracles of the Prophet of Islam, with historical evidences available and containing a brief autobiographical note at the end, has its own worth. It was first published by Mujadid Amritsar in 1329 A.H. One copy of it is the property of Qadir Najar s/o Abdul Salam Najar of Gundora Bandipur. The copy was recovered and used by me from Pir Shamasuddin Arin Bandipur. Later it was published by Messers Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd Shrinagar in 1938, and 1943 A.D. respectively. One copy of it is in the possession of the author. The poem starts in his own style of hymn and psalms followed by the cause of composition. The psalm is offered to God in prayer and Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) in its subsequent section. In its third section he provides the cause for the composition of the poem. He attributes the cause of it to his friends and relatives, whose assembly in a spring was surprised by a youngster who wanted them to recite some

118. Ibid.

kind of doggrel or ballad. Hassan reacted to the fantasy of doggrels and commenting on such types of poetry, he initiated to describe the miracles of the Prophet and sing hymns and psalms in favour of God. Hassan is a humble-self and he does not hesitate to present himself in the humblest way. He has a sense of treating himself an insignificant part in the cosmos, magnifying the Prophet to his destined elevation. So he says:¹¹⁹

کیا کردہ مورس نفس مارن شیطان کرنس حال حیران
گولنس لو بن تہ آسنکاری ساری کرہوی کلہ قربان
دوہہ گاٹی سپرہ درتہ کار پوہہ گوم سٹراونس سی ارمان
کوہہ چیم و دہ پیٹھ گونہ کرہ باری ساری کرہوی کلہ مقہربان
یا بنی تڑی سواکس کرہ باری تہ جھوک عالمین ہند پشیمان
غلام حسن کرہ تہ صغہ باری تاون زداو زیر دامن
اسنس راضی کاستس خاکی ساری کرہوی کلہ مقہربان

Hassan initiates in versification the birth of the Prophet. In the depiction of physical features of the Prophet, Hassan puts it in the following:—¹²⁰

119. Hassan, Ayjaz-i-Ghariba, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd Srinagar, 1943, p. 6.

120. Ibid., p. 12.

سہا پائیں لگی پاری سرا پا سہا اوسم رحمت سرا پا
 زیر موزون ہزاران بار موزون سرا پا اوس تس انہار موزون
 قدش موزون نہ ژور کوتاہ نہ ژور زیوٹ تنش موزون نہ ژور نازک نہ ژور پوٹ
 بہت لوکن اندر سوی تھو دشمن اوس حلاق سراسر بڈی یکجا سمن آسو
 بکثرت بوبتن موی سروریش شکس واللیل مویں جھپکم ویش

In the love of the Prophet, he excels many and he magnifies him more than others and in this respect he represents in him both a Brahmin and the Muslim, for he refers to his father as Abdul Rasul instead of Ghulam Rasool.¹²¹ Similarly his Nat regarding the Prophet represents the same cult and belief. He is prepared to sacrifice everything for the Prophet. He sings:—¹²²

یارب کردانہ برطحا صفا و مروس پھیر ہا
 کعبس ڈیکہ درتھ پرہ ہا سُبْحَانَ رَبِّيَ الْأَعْلَى
 حضرت سندی وطن ڈیشت آسہ ہا متن
 ٹاچھ چشمہ وندہس دن نرھانڈہن عرفا

Hassan, after praising Allah and the Prophet, initiates the journey of the Prophet to the unknown named as Miraj and describes in his own style the reception of the Prophet by the angels. In the ecstasy of the Miraj, Hassan sings for the Prophet in the manner:—¹²³

121. Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, trns. Molvi Abrahmi, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd, Srinagar, p. 445.

122. Hassan, h. 13, pp. 16-17.

123. Ibid., p. 24,



Near Hassan's headstone are : (L to R)
 Mr. G. R. Gadda (Cultural Academy)
 Mr. N. Sharma (Ex-Secretary Academy)
 Mr. Shamsuddin (Ex-Prime Minister J & K)
 By Courtesy : Academy of Art, Culture and Languages

سپن ید قہقہہ قہقہہ معراج مشہور مسلمان گیارہ سہ شاہ دلاشاہ مسرور
ستم گو کا قزن ہتو تک دلس نار کروک انکار معراجس زار بار
دپوک امکان چھنہ در حق انان ہیک لفظ کہیں بر فریش زینان

Thereby Hassan showers to the Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) within the framework of mystics and Rishis of Kashmir.

During the travel, Hassan believes that the Prophet had clairvoyance. He sings :—

خالقن چونک جام عرفانی اسرار ساری کرتے بیان
اسہ کیوت ستر آکھ نمیش خانی جان جانانی وند ہوی جان

Hassan, later talks of those who did not accept Prophet's travel to the unknown. Their (Kafirs) questioning, interrogations and laudability of the travel is rebutted by Hassan in accordance with the Hadis. Hassan admits that he talks of the miracles of the Prophet as incorporated in different books of Hadis.¹²⁴ He is many a time didactic and writes hymns, prayers, elegy and idyls but in all such versification he has own style and colour.¹²⁵ He translates his ideas in the poetical forms of Kashmiri and combines Kashmiri "Nat" in the form of Kashmiri "Wanwun" or folklore¹²⁶. For instance :

124. Namely, Madaraj, Rouzatul-Ahbab and others relating to Miraj.

125. Rashid Nazki, Shiraza, J & K Academy of Art, Culture Languages, *Hassan Number*, 1971, p. 51.

126. Ibid.

رحمتکہ نبو بوز سانی زاری ساری کرہ ہوی کلہ قہ ربان
وہ متس چھہ چانی و وہ میدوار ساری کرہ ہوی کلہ قہ ربان
خالقن بخشہ نری تاجہ ساری کونین تھونی زیر فرمان
تخت مل اوس چھی چرخ انکاری ساری کرہ ہوی کلہ قہ ربان

Hassan's poetry is full with didacticism. He instructs, directs and gives a call for virtue. His virtue lies in Islam and its fundamentals. His Prophet is the source of his virtuous sentiment. He calls for assistance from the Prophet so that he receives not only good for [him in the world of the unknown but also good for his own countrymen. For example :

چھس گنہ سکار یار رسول اللہ بوزتم زار یار رسول اللہ
سوہ کھ سان از میر ہاؤتم دیدار در شب تار یار رسول اللہ
یک نظر کرہ بامت از کشمیر چھی سہ شاہ خاں یار رسول اللہ
موہ کلاوت بشفقت و رحمت! از ستمکار یار رسول اللہ

Hassan's whole poetry is devotional in nature...whether it is Gulistan-i-Ikhlaq or Ayjaz-i-Gharibi. 'Devotion' says Alabaster, "is a state of mind that arises after love of the divine, and has searched out in heavenly things certain topics upon which the power of wit may operate."¹²⁷ Hassan's wit operates to locate Allah through his love for Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) and through his praise of Muhammad. His wit operates to locate ethics

127. Malcolm Bradbury and David Palmer, *Metaphysical poetry*, Edward Arnold, 1970, p. 103.

which is Islamic and relate it to his surroundings. He locates the Prophet amongst the unknown in Miraj and relates him to the world of wisdom.

Hassan had not the chance to pluck the fruits from his tree of the Muse, as he devoted his whole life to irrigate and nurture the tree of historiography, yet when he attempts it he plucks the finest fruit. Sometimes when he reverted to romanticism, he excels many poets of his time, probably all. One of his poems is translated here to support my formulation :—

Morning breeze, my life-long companion,
Convey my complaints unto my youth,
Since departure, she not returneth,
Convey my complaints unto my youth.

Searching every place like a crow,
Rome, Syria, in my inner domain,
Requesting unfurl anger, but not identifiable,
Convey my complaints unto my youth.

Reducing to Isolation, moreso to ashy,
Light to dark, stumbling through,
Blossoms fade, nothing to praise,
Convey my complaints unto my youth.

Me in Wolar, am in whirlpool,
Confronting wind of hill top 'Vej'
Oar not in hand, to support my boat,
Convey my complaints unto my youth.

Hassan waits, whimpers for you,
Has lost everything in his estimation,
Forlorn alas, who shall rename him,
Convey my complaints unto my youth.

Translations do not represent the essence of the language of Hassan. However, Hassan's greatness as poet lies in his "Gulistan-i-Ikhlaq" and "Ayjaz-i-Ghariba", Persian and

Kashmiri respectively. His latter work in Kashmiri represents Hassan as the humblest Muslim, who having faith in Islam, confesses his sins before man and God. He confesses that he has no virtuous deeds in his store, instead he is a sinner having bundles of them. He questions as to the fate in the other world but he has a hope that his Pir might redeem him of his sins.¹²⁸ Like most of the Kashmiris, Hassan would not point the sins he committed, so that we could know his definition of sins, yet he commits himself to the fact of having been unislamic many a time. Like other Kashmiris, Hassan hides many things—he is not frank, he is expedient. He is neither Bertrand Russell nor E. H. Carr.

Hassan's *Ayjaz-i-Ghariba* comes down to us in two printed versions. One is published by his grandson Pir Mustafa and printed at Mujadid Amritsar and the other is published by Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd Srinagar. The former in addition to his poetical work of *Ayjaz-i-Ghariba* provides an introduction by one Qadir Darvesh, who believes that Hassan was named by Sheikh Ahmad Tarabali, a great seer of his time as :

Later records and adaptations, however, show that the historiographer negotiated Hussain with Hassan. This publication of his poetical works, in epilogue, provides a biographical sketch of Hassan with most part of it devoted to his lineage. Hassan's work is in Kashmiri but both its prologue and epilogue are in Persian prose. The epilogue is prepared by Sadduddin, grandson of Hassan's brother, Ghulam Ahmad Jayyad.

128. Hassan, *Ayjaz-i-Gharaba*, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd Srinagar, n. d., p. 70.

IX

Hassan and Nadim

Hassan's sister was married to Sheikh Mohiuddin, who lived near the shrine of Mian Manik Shah Saheb at Rainawari Srinagar. She was rendered a widow in her younger age, having an infant, Abdul Ahad Nadim, whose rearing, both spiritual and mundane, consequently devolved on Hassan's father Ghulam Rasool Sheva. Nadim naturally had to be brought in Hassan's family at Gamroo, with maternal uncles and grandfather. Hassan's father trained Nadim in Persian, Arabic, Unani medicines and Talismanship.¹²⁹ Nadim later excels in Munajats and Nats so much that Hassan had to show reverence for him. The reasons for Hassan's reverence for Nadim were two-fold. Nadim excelled in poetic talents and spiritual elevations and as an intellectual Hassan had to concede it. Hassan struck a compromise between the spiritual and the mundane life, whereas Nadim swung to the absolute love for Prophet Muhammad (peace be with him). He is lost in Nat and Munajat. Says Mir Ghulam Rasool Nazki, "It is not difficult to locate counter influences between Hassan and Nadim—Hassan is a poet in Kashmiri as much as Nadim, but Nadim had placed pearls of liver before us with a different art than the former—Nadim has excellence."¹³⁰

Nadim is musical and his Nat and Munajat elevate him above Hassan in poetry and greatness of Hassan lies in the

129. Hassan, *Ayjaz-i-Gharibha*, published by Pir Mustafa, p. 165.

130. Shiraza, Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, *Hassan Number*, 1971, p. 25.

fact that he acknowledges it. Hassan died at a time when Nadim was nearly 55 years of age consequently, they had good association for quite sometime. Hassan's reverence for Nadim is reflected in the fact that most of the children born to Hassan's family (including his brothers) were named by Nadim and not by Hassan.¹³¹ This way our historiographer and poet treats him as superior to his whole belt of relations at Gamroo or elsewhere. Whatever the positions and their relations, the two poets influenced each other.

131. Checked up with Pir Abdul Qadeer Fazili.

Hassan's Posterity

Hassan had three brothers and each excelled in one aspect of life or the other. They had distinctions. If Hassan happens to be a historiographer and distinguishes himself in it, Jayad is a poet of repute. Mohiuddin a mystic of distinction and Pir Ghulam Mohd or Mohd Pir having worldly wisdom and reputation of being a practiser of unani medicine. Unfortunately, none of the sons so far could bring any kind of distinction in scholastic life. However, some of them had an excellence in some walks of life.

Hassan had two sons, one passed away in the early years of his life, the other Ghulamuddin or Ghulam Ali also died on 25 Zeqad 1311 A. H. when he was at the age of thirty five. This youth left two minor children namely, Pir Mustafa and Pir Syeddudin. Pir Ghulam Mustafa migrated to Arahama, Ganderbal, and is survived by two sons, Mr. Abdul Majid Fazili (A. G's office), Khanqah-i-Mualla, Srinagar, Pir Abdul Rashid and a deceased son late Mohd Yousuf, who is survived by three sons namely, Irashad Ahmad, Ayjaz Ahmad and Riaz Ahmad, all living at Arhama, Ganderbal. Pir Syeduddin has left three sons, Pir Ghulam Ahmad, Mr. Ghulam Ali and Mr. Ghulam Rasool. Pir Ghulam Ahmad has been a freedom fighter. They live at Gamroo, the ancestral abode of Fazilis, all of them are in Government service, the first having now retired from P.W.D.

Hassan's next brother Pir Mohiuddin died in the year 1319 A.H. and was survived by four sons namely Pir Nizamuddin,

Pir Hissamuddin, Pir Shamasuddin and Pir Qasim. Amongst these brothers two had either no male children or died young, leaving no offspring and thus Pir Shamasuddin is survived by only one son Pir Mohd Abdullah (Karachi, Pakistan) Pir Hissamuddin is survived by two sons, Mr. Ghulam Mohiuddin Fazili, once a police officer, editor and now a retired teacher and a National Conference worker. He held the posts of Sarpanch and Chairman Panchayat Gamroo many a time. Mr. Mohiuddin has been a freedom fighter as well. A bold and brave personality, Mr. Mohiuddin Fazili has a capacity to create and resolve conflicts around him. The younger brother of Mr. Mohiuddin Fazili is Mr. Ghulam Nabi, a government servant. Their elder brother Pir Ghulam Ahmad, was a political worker and associated with late Plebiscite Front. A social worker, in essence, Pir Ghulam Ahmad called as Ama Chacha, was known in the Ilfaqa for the human values he upheld, by serving all people at the cost of his family. He had the distinction of fighting the successive governments for the cause of common man's education, and economic uplift. He pursued the cause of opening new schools, construction of new roads and helping the poor in their social problems. He was elected many a time Sarpanch of the Gamroo Panchyat. A humanist and realist, he died in February 1973 of liver cancer. He was known to me for about twenty years and I held him always in high esteem.

Pir Ghulam Ahmad Jayad (1327 AH) one of the brothers of Hassan was survived by Pir Sadduddin and Pir Noor-uddin, who lived in Srinagar near Khanqah-i-Naqshband at Khanyar and now their progeny have settled in Lal Bazar. Mr. Sadduddin left no male issue and Pir Nooruddin is survived by two sons Mr. Mohd Sayeed and Ahmad Sayeed. Their elder brother Ghulam Nabi is survived by no male issue. These two brothers survived by are Mr. Mohd Syed and Mr. Ahmad Syed. Their progeny living in Srinagar are highly placed in government service. Most of them are either Engineers, doctors or Judges. They have excelled in different walks

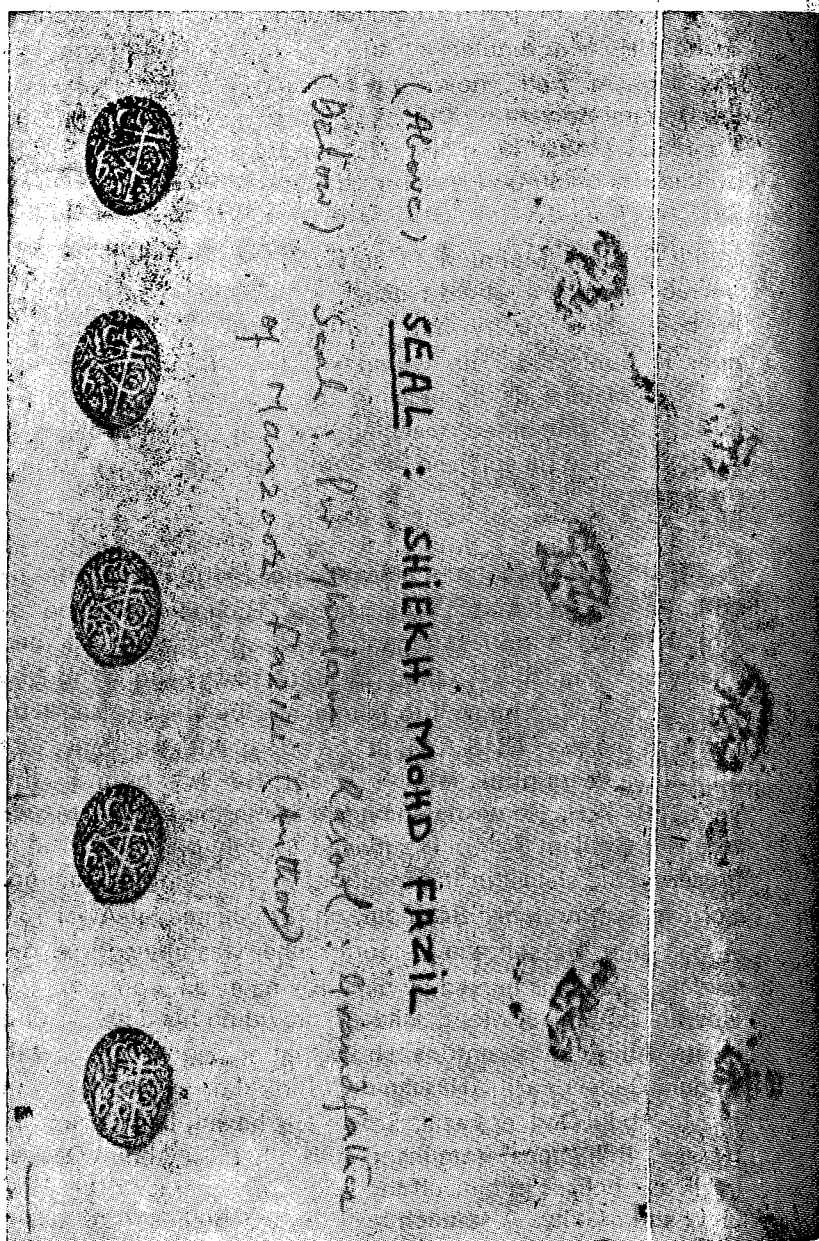
of life, but, unfortunate as it is, these Fazilis had no chance or choice to dedicate themselves to any kind of scholastic adventures.

Pir Ghulam Mohd (1359 A. H.) or as known Mohd Pir was the youngest of Hassan's brothers. He had six sons Pir Ghulam Rasool, Pir Abdul Qadoos, Pir Abdul Kabir, Pir Ghulam Mohmud, Pir Mohd Suliman and Hakeem Ghulam Hassan. Hakeem Ghulam Hassan is alive and is nearly eighty four years of age. Father of only female issues he has excellence in practising Unani medicines. Pir Mohd Suliman is known to me and to some extent I owe my raring to him. He passed away on 18th April, 1961. A Maktab teacher and Pir by profession, Suliman Sahib was well acquainted with Arabic and Persian languages. He is survived by four sons, Molvi Mohd Afzal, Pir Mohd Usman, Mr. Ali Mohd Kanwal and Mr. Mohd Fazil. Molvi Mohd Afzal, retired civil servant, is known for his honesty, moral elevations and religious preaching. He is well versed in Persian, Urdu and Arabic languages. With all his mastery over languages, he has not committed himself to any scholastic adventures so far. He is a Musalman after the school of Nadeva. Like Hassan, he has great regard for saints and seers. Personally, having seen him possessing the seal of Sheikh Mohammad Fazil, the grandson of Sheikh Gaziuddin, after whom the family is surnamed as "Fazili", Molvi Sahib ascribes to the seal great spiritual achievements. However, emotionally instable, Molvi Sahib has not been able to acquire mass appeal. He does not keep the covenants that he makes. Pir Mohd Usman retired as the Principal of a Government Higher Secondary School—embracing in himself the Western education, he has always remained orientalised. For quite some time he belonged to the school of Jamat-i-Islamia, writing articles in the daily "Azan" but has now turned against it. Essentially, slave of his inner contradictions, he is by now completely relegated to alienation. Ali Mohd Kanwal (Muzzaferabad, Pakistan) has the scholastic reputation. He composed for a long time Ladi Shah (a

doggrel form of poetic composition), for "Azad Kashmir Radio". He is a regular contributor to the field of scholarship and is a well known poet in Kashmiri. Presently he is the General Secretary of the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, Azad Kashmir. Had he not dedicated himself to politics, he could be Hassan of the present times.

Pir Ghulam Mahmud is survived by one son namely Pir Masood, who is a retired teacher. Pir Mahmud had the talent for composing poetry but nothing of his poetical compositions is published. His youngest son Mr. Ghulam Ahmad had a premature death, leaving behind nine children and a widow. He combined teaching with the practice of Unani medicine. Had he survived, he could get excellence in Unani medicine.

Pir Ghulam Rasool, the eldest son of Mohd Pir, was trained in Persian and Arabic by his father. He had the opportunity to act as a correspondent to a monthly of Lahore, "Kashmiri Magazine" edited by Mohd Din Fauq. While he started dedicating himself to journalism, he was cut short by death in the year 1345 A.M. at the age of fifty one only, just after three years of his father's death. He was born in the year 1294 A.H. He wrote some articles in the Lahore Magazine. Pir Ghulam Rasool is survived by only one son, who is presently the eldest in the family of Fazilis living at Gamroo. Born at Gamroo, tehsil Bandipur, on 18th Jameedul-Awal 1316 A.M. While Hassan, the historiographer was alive, Pir Abdul Qadeer Fazili was named by him. His name as conferred by Hassan is Sheikh Mohd Qadeer, providing his date of birth in its Abjie. Later entries show that he negotiated it with Ahduld Qadeer Fazili. Hassan died forty days after the birth of Mr. Abdul Qadeer Fazili. Essentially having blessings from Hassan, influences from his grand-father, Pir Abdul Qadeer Fazili symbolises in himself the traditional character of Pirs' piety and probity. A staunch believer and practiser of Islam this Fazili at the age of eighty six with stores of experience



and wisdom is the moral guide for all. He has blended in himself a spiritual and a mundane personality.

Essentially a teacher, as he worked in schools for forty years of his life, Mr. Abdul Quadeer Fazili has now used the art of teaching to explain Tawheed to people. Consequently, he visits educational and religious institutions giving moral education, explaining teaching methods to school teachers, emphasising the teacher's role and providing guidelines for physical education to children. Pir Abdul Qadeer Fazili is well read. Though he had a schooling upto the eighth grade only, yet afterwards, at least in education, he is self-made. Later, [he appeared in graduation in 1955, while I also appeared, but was not success. He was encompassed the Islamic literature both in its traditional and modern interpretations. Though influenced by the literature of Maulana Maudoodi, he does not follow him blindly. However, he has never been a member of any religious or political organization. Having an absolute control over his own-self, the highest of self-discipline, Pir Sahib has superb sense of tolerance. He believes "patience" is the only lesson from his life, which, according to him, pays man the highest in return. A born and dedicated teacher, Qadeer Sahib has brought religion with him the religion of humanist Islam.

A democratic father, Qadeer Sahib has four sons. Mr. Muzaffar Fazili (Radio Pakistan) has many scholastic adventures to his credit. He is a well known short story writer in Urdu. Manzoor Fazili is working as Professor of Political Science. Mr, Mansoor Fazili, agriculture department, has research interests in Entomology and composes poetry as a hobby. Mr. Rauf Fazili's research interets embrace forestry and religion.

Sheikh Afzal, the fourth descendent according to the chronological order, to Sheikh Ghaziuddin, had five sons. One of his sons Sheikh Sonallah (1330 A.H.) had two sons—Ghulam Rasool Sheva, Hassan's father and Ghulam

Mustfa. The other four brothers of Sheikh Sonaullah lived at Srinagar. Sidiqullah and Ziaullah lived at Zoonimar and Kalalduri, in Srinagar, respectively. Saifullah and Sheikh Faqirullah lived at Gurgadi Mohalla and Gojiwara respectively. Ibn-i-Mehjoor provided a chronological order of the two scions of this family but failed to fill up the missing gaps in the order.¹³²

Amongst the descendants of Sheikh Saifullah domiciled at Gurgadi Mohalla, I know of Mr. Mohd Maqbool Fazili who served as a professor of Persian literature and later principal at various Government Degree colleges. He was for some time Secretary of J & K Board of School Education and retired as Director of Libraries. He is a warm-hearted and affable gentleman held in esteem in society. His personal contribution to learning of culture, if any, has not been published yet.

The other scion of the family is Sheikh Faqirullah, whose chronological order provided by Ibn-i-Mehjoor is missing in its link at two places. My enquiries in this behalf have partially achieved success. One of the links was available with Dr. Ali Mohammad Jan, the far-famed living descendent of the scion. Sheikh Faqirullah whose son (name not traceable) had a son Mohammad Khalil, who was the father of one Mr. Ghulam Mond Fazili who lived at Gojiwara, Srinagar. Mr. Ghulam Mohd Fazili had two sons, namely, Mr. Ghulam Rasool Fazili and Mr. Ghulam Mohiuddin Fazili. Mr. Ghulam Rasool Fazili was known to me but was close to my father Mr. Abdul Qadeer Fazili (Gamroo, Bandipur). During the last years of life he lived at Gogjibagh, where my father visited him twice or thrice. Mr. Ghulam Rasool Fazili used to visit Gamroo, Bandipur, frequently upto the elder Fazilis were alive. Father has conveyed me that during his visits to Gamroo once his son Dr. Ali Mohammad Jan

132. Shiraza, Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, culture and languages, Hassan Number, 1971, p. 104.

accompanied him. Mr. Ghulam Rasool Fazili had good education in Arabic, Persian and the holy scriptures. Consequent to this educational background, his sons excelled in legal practice, administration, medicine and engineering.

Mr. Ghulam Rasool Fazili is survived by six sons.¹³³ The first, Mr. Abdul Gani Fazili is well known as poet and advocate, and behaves like a proletarian. The Second Mr. A. A. Fazili, IAS (retired) has had a brilliant career in the civil service and retired as Accountant General of Bombay. The third is superbly known to medical profession. The fourth Mr. Mohd. Khalil is neither known to me nor his whereabouts were traceable. Mr. Umar Jan Deputy Commissioner of Srinagar, has proved to be an efficient administrator. Mr. Ehsanul Haq is an Engineer.

As Hassan was exalted among the posterity of Sheikh Sonaullah, Dr. Ali Mohammad (Jan) Fazili has brought esteem and renown to the posterity of Sheikh Faqirullah. Unlike his brothers he uses Jan as surname. It is not ascertainable whether the word 'Jan' with his name stands by proxy or Kashmiri word 'Jan' which means 'good'. Personally, I believe the word to stand in the sense of the Kashmiri word Jan as a pet name during childhood and later becoming suffix to the name.

Dr. Ali Mohammad (Jan) Fazili, is not only a name but a legend, at least in the vale of Kashmir. Assuredly, he is known to every family and all people of any creed, caste, colour, opinion, opponent, and friend. His fame as a doctor extends over all areas of northern India. His prescription holders are proud of their health, which they believe to be the cause of Dr. Jan's "Dast-i-Shafa". His fans and others as well attribute to him many miracles of clinical diagnosis—if his ancestors performed miracles through spiritualism,

133. His sons include : Abdul Gani Fazili, Abdul Aziz Fazili, Dr. Ali Mohammad (Jan) Fazili, Mr. Mohammad Khalil, Mr. Umar Jan and Mr. Ehsanul Haq.

Dr. Jan performs miracles through scientific methods of modern medical sciences. Beyond doubt, his clinical diagnosis is superb and he has, so far, overshadowed all other doctors, at least, in the valley.

Born at Gojiwara, Srinagar, on September 3, 1914, of Late Ghulam Rasool Fazili, Dr. Sahib resides presently at Doctors Lane, Magharmal Bagh, Srinagar. He secured his M.B.B.S. (Hons) from King Edward Medical College, Lahore in 1937, at the age of 23 years. In 1950, 1951, he passed D.C.H. and M.R.C.P. (Edinburgh) in a minimum period of nine months, both at first attempt. He has many awards to his credit.¹³⁴ In addition to many gold medals, during studentship and afterwards as medical practitioner, Dr. Sahib was awarded Padma Sheri in 1975, by the President of India, for his meritorious services in health care and Medical and Health Education.

Dr. Jan is to be considered to have belonged to middle class-elite and by now he has risen to "governing elite". As the term elite(s) is now generally applied, in fact, to functional, mainly occupational groups which have high

134. (a) Nelson Raghbir Singh Gold Medal for being the most distinguished graduate of K.E. Medical College in 1937.
- (b) Dr. Rahim Khan Gold Medal for standing first in final M.B.B.S.
- (c) Neil Memorial Silver Medal for standing first in surgery.
- (d) Centre Memorial Silver Medal for standing first in Midwifery and Gynaecology.
- (e) Honours in Pathology.
- (f) Honours in Forensic Medicine.

status,¹³⁵ whatever may be the reason, Dr. Jan leads the group of doctors in Kashmir who belong to "governing elite". From the regime of Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad till this date, except the Sadiq regime, Dr. Jan has influenced all major governmental policies with regard to health care and health education in Kashmir. This position he acquired by virtue of his intelligence and profession. He started as a medical officer incharge eradication of venereal diseases in the hilly areas of Jammu province in the beginning. During the years 1938-39, when the communication and transportation was a rarity in such inaccessible mountain areas of Doda and Udhampur, Dr. Jan successfully accomplished his task to a large extent by visiting door to door and village to village on foot or on pony. He also acted as District Medical Officer of Baramullah, Anantnag and Gulmarg. Later he rose to the position of physical Specialist and Paediatrician S.M.H.S. Hospital Srinagar. For sometime he worked as Tuberculosis Officer and Superintendent Chest Disease Hospital, Srinagar. He retired as Professor of Medicine in Government Medical College, Srinagar. During the years of his professorship he contributed to the establishment of this college on a sound footing. He has a distinction of having played an important and leading role in shaping medical education in Kashmir. It goes to his credit that he is a pioneer in giving scientific approach to medicine in Kashmir.

The doctor is Kashmiri by blood and by birth—he has served Kashmiris in the best capacities that he or any one else could. He has not faltered or hesitated in serving his nation todate. He is a life member of the J & K Road Cross and is an activist in the fulfilment of its programmes. Presently he is the President of Tuberculosis Association. He has worked in several villages rendering free medical advice and treatment through community service pro-

135. T.B. Bottomore, *Elites and Society*, Penguin Books, reprinted 1979, p. 14.

grammes of the Rotary Club of Kashmir. He provides free advice, once a week at Sher-i Kashmir Institute at Soura. He is the founder and the first President of Rotary Club of Srinagar. Having been a member of Kashmir University Central Council, Dr. Jan had sufficient time in improving the conditions in the University and helping the cause of the student community.

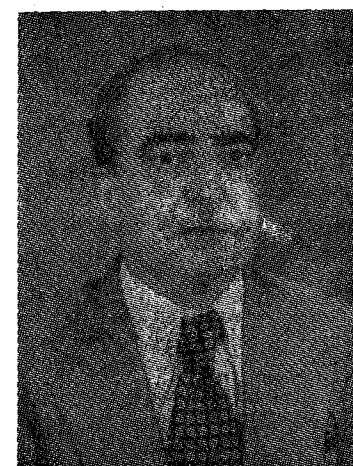
Being intellectually alive, Dr. Jan is keenly interested in modern literature and devotes some time to it. He is in touch with the history of Kashmir, India and the world. He keeps himself abreast with the national and international events through newspapers, periodicals and other media. Interested in poetry—Kashmiri, English as well as other Indian languages, the doctor has a sound sense of aesthetics.

The far-famed doctor is Platonic in behaviour. In his concept of education Plato emphasised a compromise between physical and intellectual exercises. He believed, "They are not intended, one to train body, the other mind, except incidentally but to ensure a proper harmony between energy and initiative on the one hand and reason on the other, by turning each to the right pitch. And so we may venture to assert that anyone who can produce the best blend of the physical and intellectual sides of education and apply them to training of character, is producing harmony in a far more important sense than any mere musician."¹³⁶

Dr. Jan also harmonizes in a far more important sense, the intellectual side with that of the physical side. We have already discussed his intellectual needs but his physical care is a pointer to the Platonic concept of the development of better personality and character. On the physical side his needs are fulfilled by in-door and out-door games. He is a

136. Plato, *The Republic*. Trns. by H.D.P. Lee, the Penguin Classics, 1958, pp. 154-55.

keen angler and attends duck shooting as well. He is a member of the Golf-club, Nagin Lake Club, and President of the Srinagar Club at the Bund. He gets the opportunity of knowing Kashmir villages and the poor at first hand through his interest in trout fishing and duck shooting. Amongst in-door games he plays chess, and occasionally a game of Bridge. Without having any special education in music, the doctor enjoys Kashmiri and Indian classical music, Qawali, Ghazal and also Western music. In Western music, he is particularly interested in Beethoven, Mozart and Chakowsky, in addition to modern Western music.



Dr. Ali Mohd. (Jan) Fazili

Presently, Dr. Jan is engaged in consultant practice in medicine. He is the vice-chairman of the Governing Body of the Medical Institute, Soura, Srinagar. He is the chairman of the faculty, member of the Apical Selection Committee, member of the Finance, Purchase and other committees of the Institute. The Institute has started functioning recently. Dr. Jan is a member of the Health and Family Planning Advisory Committee of the Jammu and Kashmir State. He was elected Fellow of the Academy of Medical Sciences India, in 1980.

Dr. Jan is not only a great son of the Fazili clan, he is a great son of Kashmir. He does not belong to the school of doctors who believe in ethunisa. He consequently is a humanist and committed progressive. He is a Muslim of the type of Hanafites—not committed to orthodoxy. However, he combines in himself both the past and the present—he combines the wisdom of his ancestors with the intelligence of the present generation. He sacrificed his career for the people—that too for the down-trodden people in villages—as against those doctors who presently serve the Europeans and the Americans. He shall, therefore, go to Kashmir history as a legend, different in form and style than his ancestors and different than those of Rishis and seers of our past. If Hassan is great for establishing the continuity of our history and cultural life thereto enhance the spiritual life of our people, Dr. Jan shall be remembered in history for the continuity of our physical life thereby to develop a spiritual personality.

Bibliography

- Khuihami, Ghulam Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, vol. I, Geography of Kashmir, Research Department, J & K Government, Srinagar, 1954.
- Khuihami, Ghulam Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, vol. II, History of Kashmir, Research Department, J & K Government, Srinagar, n.d.
- Koul, Anand Pt., *The Kashmiri Pandit*, Thacker, Spink & Co. Calcutta, 1924.
- Khuihami, Ghulam Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Hassan*, vol. IV, Research Department, J & K Government, 1961.
- Khuihami, Ghulam Hassan, *Ayjaz-i-Ghariba*, Pir Mustafa published at Gratabal, Nawakadal, Srinagar Kashmir, 1329 A.H. The book has an introduction by Darvesh Abdul Qadir and an epilogue by Saauddin son of Ghulam Ahmad Jayed. It is printed at Mujadid Press, Amritsar.
- Khuihami, Ghulam Hassan, *Ayjaazi-Ghariba*, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd. Publishers, Srinagar, n.d.
- Sheva Ghulam Rasool, *Mujmua-i-Sheva*, a manuscript possessed by Molvi Mohd Atzal, Gamroo, Bandipur.
- Fauq, Mohd Din, *Aqwam-i-Kashmir*.
- Shiraza, Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Hassan Number, 1971.
- Khuihami, Ghulam Hassan, *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, trns. by Molvi Mohd Abraham Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd, Srinagar, 1957.
- Khuihami, Ghulam Hassan, *Tazkira-i-Awalia Kashmir*, or *Asrarul-Akhyar*, trans. by Molvi Mohd Abraham, Ghulam Mohd Noor Mohd, Srinagar, 1960.
- Mashahiri-Kamaraz, Adbi Markaz Kamaraz, vol. I, Sopore, 1975. Koul, Anand Pt., *Journal of Asiatic Society*, Bengal, 1913.

Mashahiri-Kashmir, Hamara Adab, Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, Srinagar, 1976-77.

Lawrence, W.R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, Kesar, Pub. Residency Road, Srinagar, 1967.

His Highness Government of Jammu and Kashmir, *A Handbook of J & K State*, Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1945.

Gupta, Sisir, *Kashmir: A Study in India-Pakistan Relations*, Asia Publishing House, Delhi, 1966.

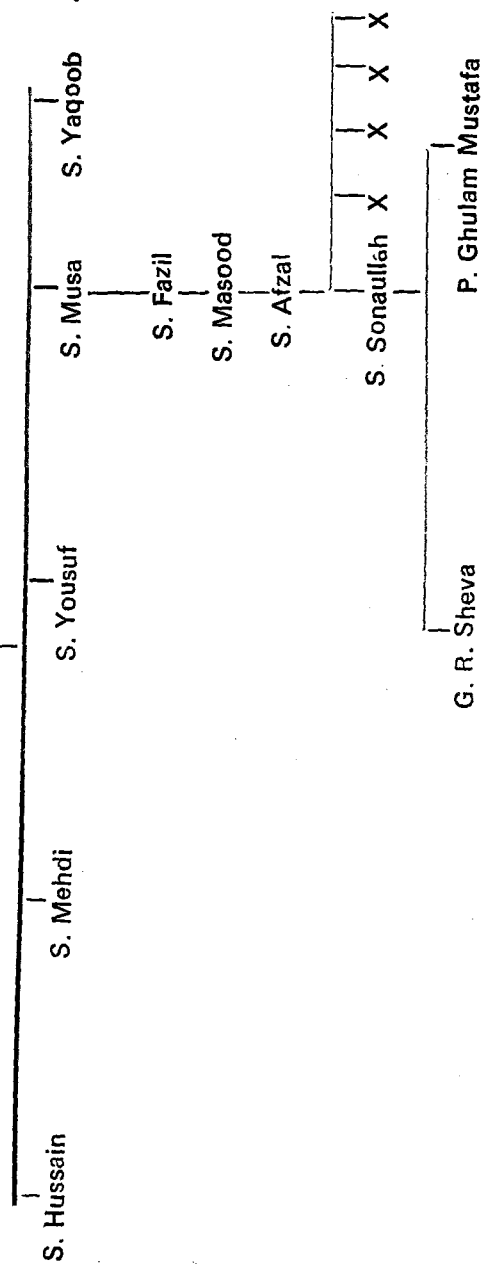
Carr, E. H., *What is History?* Alfred A Knoph, Inc. Newyork, 1962.

Bradbury and Palmer, *Metaphysical Poetry*, Edward Arnold, 1970.

Sheva, Ghulam Rasool, *Mujmua-Sheva*, a photostat, possessed by Manzoor Fazili, v. Gamroo, Bandipur.

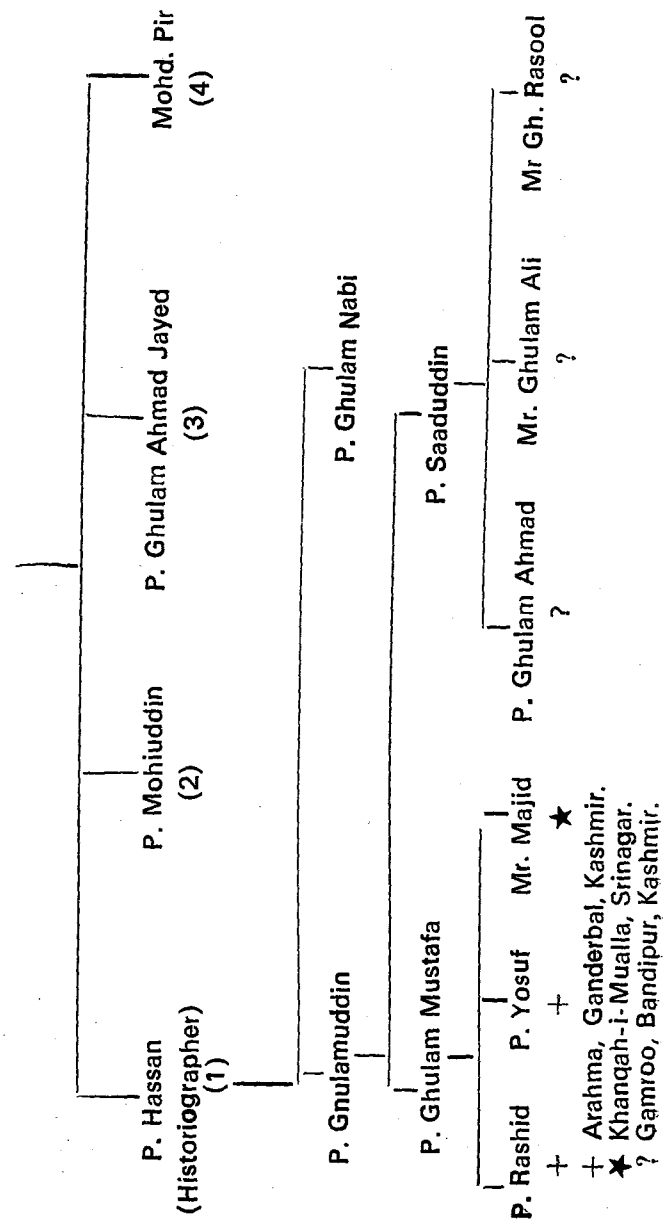
Sufi, G.M.D. *Kashmir, Light and Life*, New Delhi, 1974.

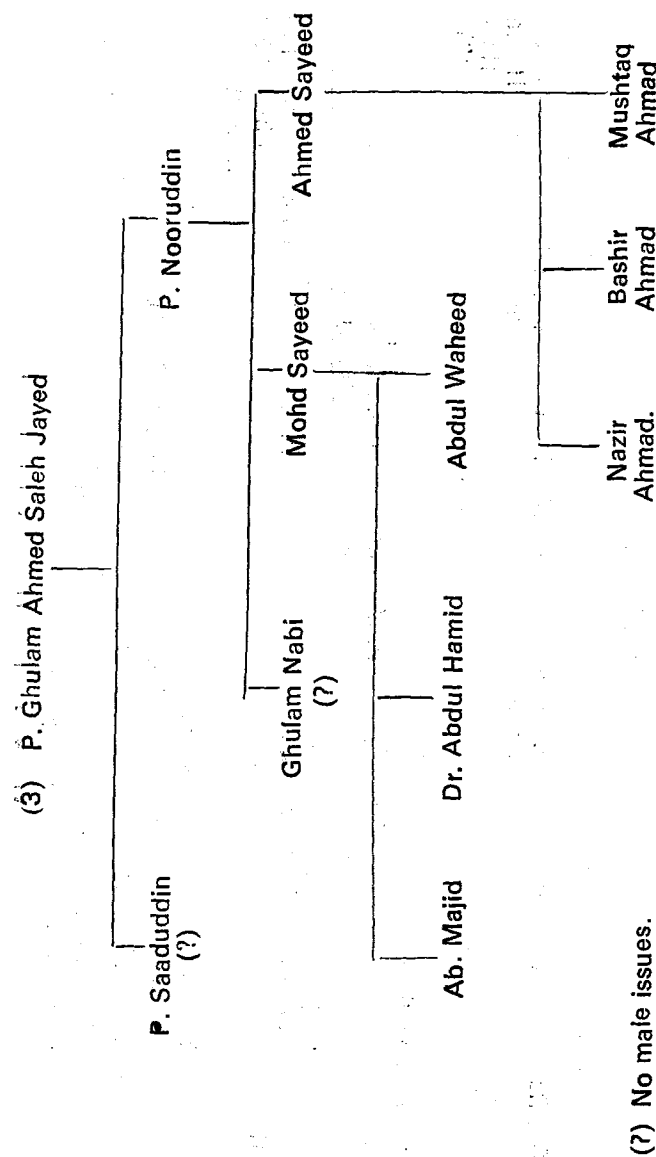
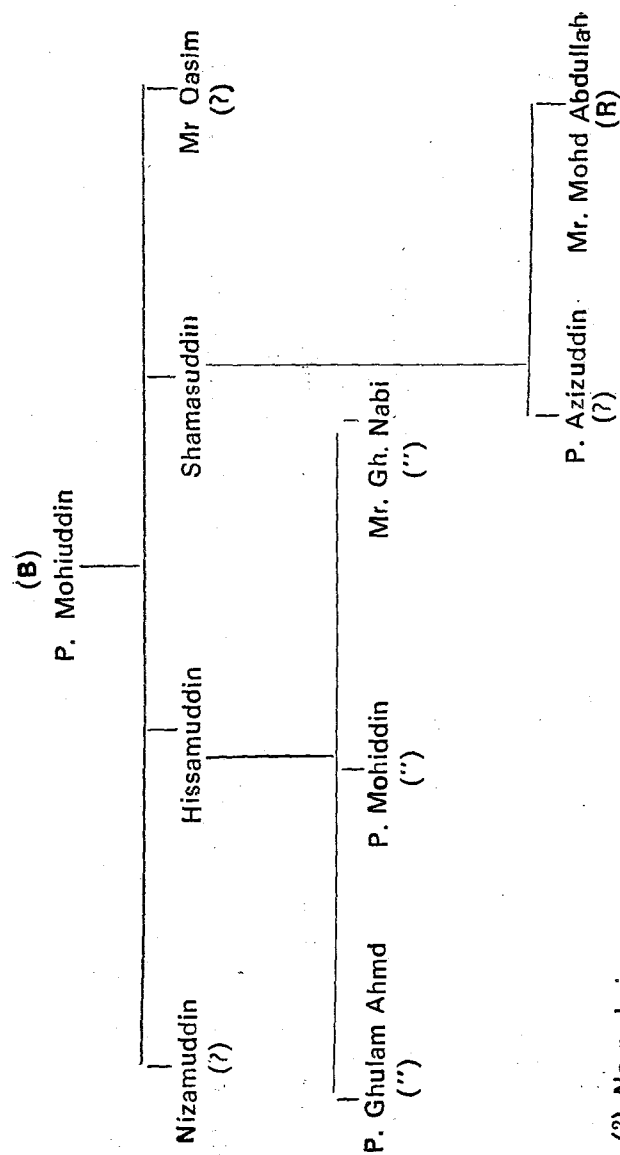
CHRONOLOGICAL CHART

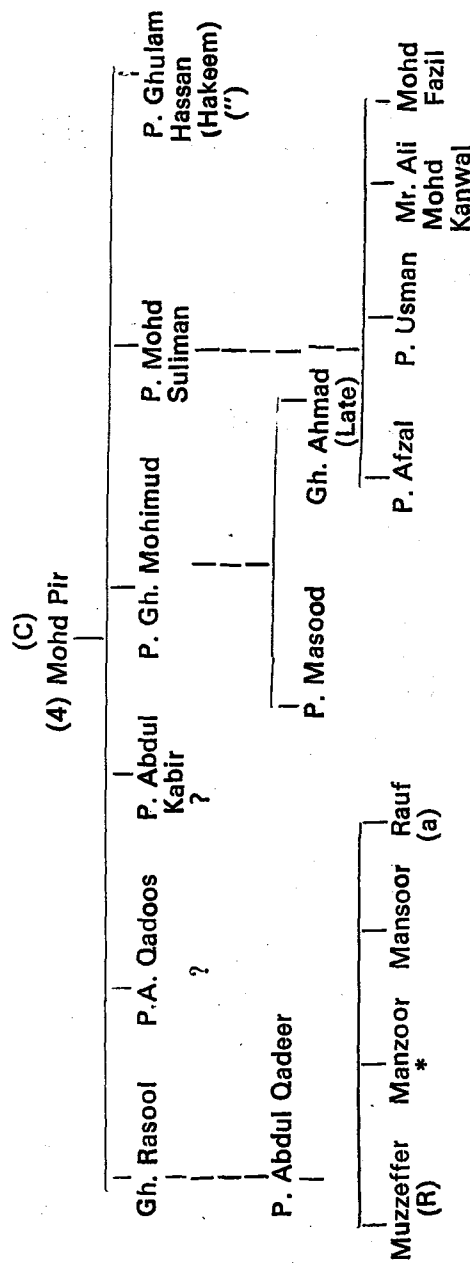
With adoptions and modifications to Ibin-i-Mahjoor
(A)S. Gaziuddin/Ganesh Koul
(Dattetarya)

Hassan : Kashmir Historiographer

Chart A, B, C







? Deceased without issues.

('') Alive-no male issue—Residing at Chakiarsalakhan, Bandipur

(R) Pakistan National (Muzefferabad)

(a) Sher-i-Kashmir Colony, Qamarwari, Srinagar.

* Wonagam, Bandipur, Kashmir.

Dr. Ali Mohammad (Jan) Fazili (chronological order)
S. Gaziuddin/Ganesh Koul Dattaterya

